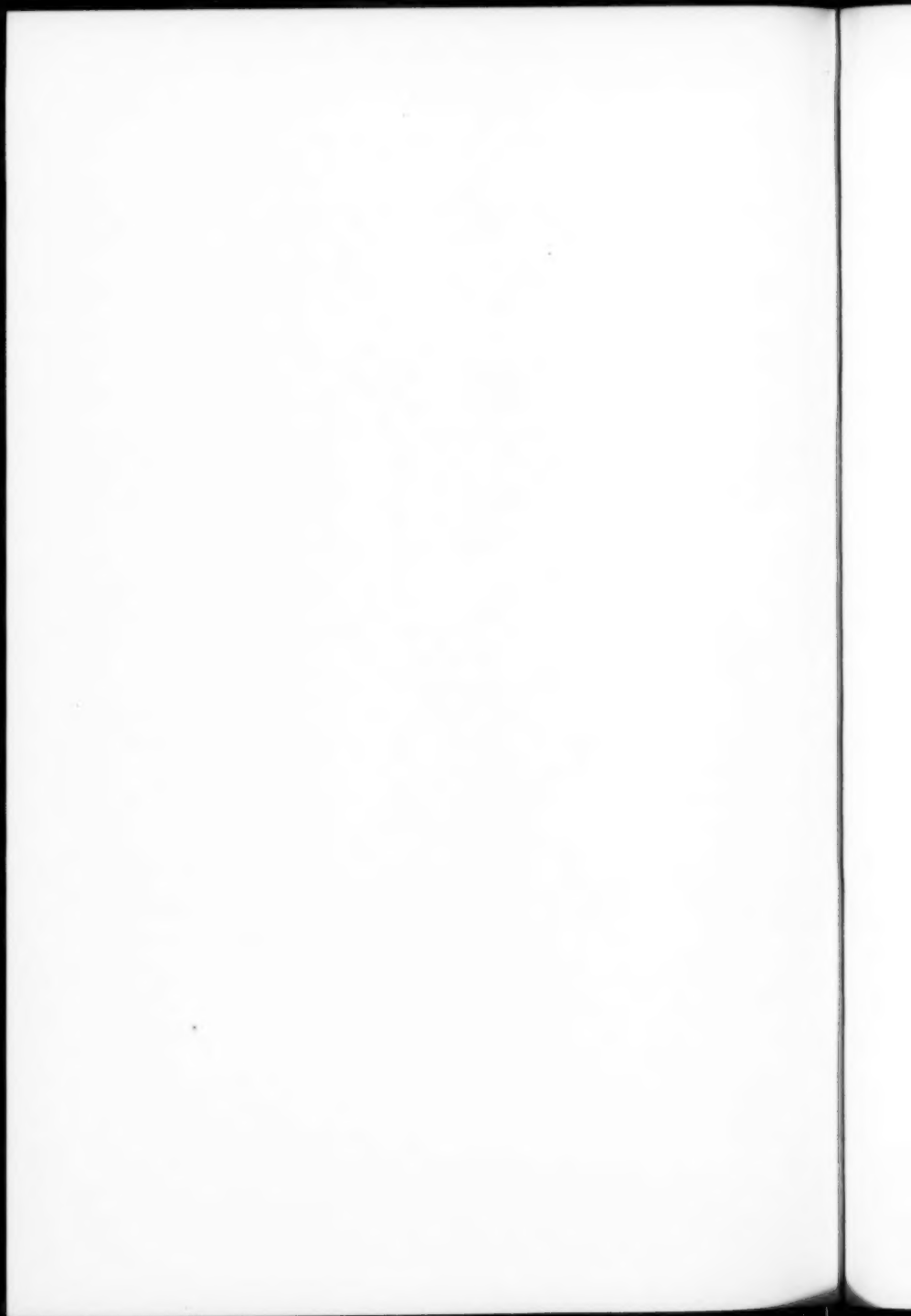


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THE FRENCH REGIME IN THE GREAT LAKES COUNTRY¹

It must be remembered that the existence of the Great Lakes was a phenomenon to which Europeans were unwonted. No such great bodies of fresh water exist in any continent with which the early explorers of America were familiar. When the French, who discovered the St. Lawrence River in the first half of the sixteenth century, heard from the Indians of these vast interior seas they conceived them either as bays of the western ocean or as reservoirs with outlets to the long-sought South Sea. Thus the hints that reached explorers and the occasional attempts by geographers to portray the Great Lakes on the maps of the sixteenth century were very misleading.

It was not until after the French government under the leadership of Samuel de Champlain founded in 1608 a colony on the shores of the St. Lawrence that any systematic attempt was made to discover the sources of that river. The natural order for the discovery would have been by mounting the St. Lawrence to Lake Ontario, and thence passing into Lakes Erie, Huron, Superior, and Michigan. Because of Indian alliances as well as the difficulties of water travel, however, the lakes were first seen by the French in the following order: Huron, Ontario, Superior, Michigan, and Erie. Champlain is the discoverer to whom we owe our first real knowledge of these inland seas. In 1615 he started from Montreal, ascended the Ottawa River, carried his canoe over to the waters that flow into Georgian Bay, and pushed out thence into the great expanse of Lake Huron, which he called *La Mer Douce*, the "Sweet Sea." From the lower end of Georgian Bay he accompanied a party of Huron Indians overland to the waters of

¹ An address presented on August 20, 1931, at the Duluth session of the tenth state historical convention held under the auspices of the Minnesota Historical Society. *Ed.*

Lake Ontario, which he recognized as the source of the river that flows past Quebec. Champlain planned to explore the northern shores of Lake Huron and he might in that case have seen the two farthest lakes, but a wound received in an Indian skirmish forced him to return to Canada by the route over which he had gone out.²

Champlain himself was never able to undertake a western voyage again, but the discovery and exploration of the remaining Great Lakes was a project that absorbed his interest and he ordered his subordinates, living in the Indian country, to bring him all the information they could obtain thereon. On a map of New France, which he prepared and published in 1632, he showed *La Mer Douce*, Lake Ontario (without a name), and west of the former a large body of water, which he called *Grand Lac* and which discharged its waters through the *Sault de Gaston*, a name given for the brother of the young king, Louis XIII.³ This was the first attempt to represent Lake Superior on any map, and the information concerning its existence is thought to have been taken to Champlain by Etienne Brulé, a French interpreter living among the Hurons. Brulé and Grenoble are believed, from some hints in contemporary documents, to have visited Lake Superior about 1622. They took thence samples of copper ore and a description that would fit no other body of water as well as it does Lake Superior.

Lake Michigan was first seen by one of Champlain's emissaries, Jean Nicolet, who in 1634 ascended the Ottawa to the Huron country and with a party of those tribesmen pushed west through the straits of Mackinac and canoed along Lake Michigan's northern shore, entering its great western extension, Green Bay, then called *Baye des Puans*. This was the last of the Great Lakes to be found during the lifetime of Champlain,

² Louise P. Kellogg, *The French Régime in Wisconsin and the Northwest*, 54-58 (Madison, 1925).

³ Champlain's map is reproduced in Kellogg, *French Régime*, 62.

who died in the winter of the year that Nicolet returned. Five years later some Jesuit missionaries from Huronia first visited the northern shore of Lake Erie, and the fifth of the sisterhood of the Great Lakes was placed upon the map of the New World.⁴

The nomenclature of the earliest representations of the Great Lakes is worthy of note. The *Grand Lac* of Champlain's map became *Lac Supérieur*, the upper lake, on a map of 1650,⁵ while *Sault de Gaston* was changed by a party of Jesuits who visited there in 1641 to the holy name of *Sault de Ste. Marie*, which has persisted ever since. Later explorers attempted to name the several lakes in honor of noted Frenchmen. Father Alouez, who went thither in 1665, entitled the northernmost of the Great Lakes *Lac de Tracy* in honor of the Marquis de Tracy, then governor of New France.⁶ Father Hennepin, who sailed upon all the Great Lakes except Lake Superior, placed new names for them on his map of 1683. Ontario he named Frontenac for the great Canadian governor of that day; Superior he entitled *Lac de Condé* for the warrior prince of Louis XIV; Erie was *Lac de Conty* for Condé's brother; Huron was *Lac d'Orleans* for the king's brother; Michigan, *Lac Dauphin* for the king's son. None of these names persisted, although some of them appear sporadically on later maps.

The usual designation on the early maps for each of the Great Lakes was that of the nearest or best-known Indian tribe living on its borders. *La Mer Douce* quickly became *Lac des Hurons*; Michigan *Lac des Illinois*; Erie was the name of a tribe, living on the southern shore of that lake, also known as *Nation des Chats*, "Wild Cats," hence the name *Lac d'Erié ou des Chats*. The northernmost lake frequently became *Lac Supérieur ou des Nadouessioux*; while Ontario retained its Iro-

⁴ Kellogg, *French Régime*, 86.

⁵ Sanson d'Abbeville's map, reproduced in Kellogg, *French Régime*, 92.

⁶ Louise P. Kellogg, ed., *Early Narratives of the Northwest, 1634-1699*, 104 (*Original Narratives of Early American History*—New York, 1917).

quois appellation, occasionally becoming Cataraqui for the post of that name on its northern shore.

A curious transposition of names occurred between the two western lakes. Huron, which with Georgian Bay appeared to be the largest of the group, was frequently called by the Algonquian term for "big lake," *Michiganne*. About 1725 geographers began applying this word to the *Lac des Illinois*, when gradually the latter appellation was dropped. Thus before the close of the French régime the names we now use for the Great Lakes had become their established cognomens.

The story of French explorers who traversed the Great Lakes would necessitate a review of the history of the entire upper country during the French régime. It will thus be necessary to confine this recapitulation to the French visitors to Lake Superior. A score of years passed after Champlain's death before we have any record of a visit to the distant Lake Superior region. Then appeared on the upper lake two traders, the account of whose travels has been hotly discussed and has given rise to a voluminous literature. Pierre d'Esprit, sieur de Radisson, who with his brother-in-law, Médard Chouart, sieur des Groseilliers, visited this region in the middle of the seventeenth century, wrote an amazing journal of his voyage many years after the event and in a language foreign to him, English. Where he went and when has been much discussed and with slight success. Of one fact all contestants are assured — that Radisson and Groseilliers did visit Lake Superior. Radisson's narrative is too vivid and circumstantial to be the work of any but an eyewitness. In this quality lies its chief historical value, for he pictures primitive life and conditions in this early period in a truly marvelous way. Take for instance his description of a moose:

He has a muzzle mighty bigge. I have seene some that have the nostrills so bigg that I putt into it my 2 fists att once with ease. . . . He feeds like an ox, and the Oriniack so but seldom he galoppes.

I have seene some of their hornes that a man could not lift them from of the ground. They are branchy and flatt in the midle.⁷

Could any one mistake the animal he thus describes?

Radisson's account of a famine in an Indian village is so vivid it makes one shudder:

Every one cryes out for hungar; the women become baren, and drie like wood. You men must eat the cord, being you have no more strength to make use of the bow. Children, you must die. . . . Here comes a new family of these poore people dayly to us, halfe dead, for they have but the skin & boans. . . . In the morning the husband looks uppon his wife, y^e Brother his sister, the cozen the cozen, the Oncle the newew, that weare for the most part found deade. . . . Good God, have mercy on so many poore innocent people.

Then came a sleet storm and the deer broke through the crust and were easily captured. The village was saved and a great feast ensued.⁸

It would be interesting to cite more of this remarkable journal, revealing as it does a man of great descriptive power, of true sympathy for the natives, of real appreciation of nature's beauties. Too long we have speculated on where Radisson went, too little upon the manner of man he was and the aboriginal conditions he depicts.

Other traders followed quickly in Radisson's footsteps. In 1660 a party of seven went to Lake Superior, one of whom was Adrien Jolliet, older brother of the more famous Louis. With them was the first missionary, René Ménard, who later was lost somewhere in the depths of the Wisconsin forests. Jolliet and his party remained for three years in or about Chequamegon Bay. We catch a picture of their hardships in the following account: "It was a sight to arouse pity to see poor Frenchmen in a Canoe, amid rain and snow, borne hither and thither by whirlwinds in these great Lakes, which often show

⁷ Kellogg, *Early Narratives*, 52.

⁸ "Radisson and Groseilliers in Wisconsin," in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 11:80-82.

waves as high as those of the Sea. The men frequently found their hands and feet frozen," all to lay up a small store of fish to sustain life. Yet these traders lived to return to Canada, save only Father Ménard's servant, who was accidentally shot.⁹

Father Claude Allouez was the first to traverse the west and north coasts of Lake Superior and the first to attempt to map its shores. In 1667, two years after founding his mission on Chequamegon Bay, Allouez left that place on the sixth of May and, accompanied by two Indians, coasted in a canoe the entire west and north shore of the lake as far as Nipigon River and perhaps beyond. Allouez, who was a man of Herculean strength and great physical endurance, did his full share of the paddling and arrived at his destination completely fagged.¹⁰ Within the next three years, with the help of Father Marquette, a trained cartographer, Allouez prepared a complete map of the lake, which was published by the Jesuits in 1670-71. It is the first known map of any single one of the Great Lakes and is remarkably accurate in its delineation.

After Allouez's departure Marquette functioned at the Mission of the Holy Spirit on Chequamegon Bay until his neophytes fled from the region, when he accompanied them to the Straits of Mackinac. The occasion of the Indians' flight was the breaking out of an Indian war between the Sioux at the western end of the lake and the Indians of the east end living near the Sault, who were called on that account by the French Saulteurs and who are known by us as the Chippewa. This intertribal war closed Lake Superior to French traders and explorers for almost a decade.

Meanwhile, Governor Frontenac sent one of his engineers to visit and map Lake Superior and to carry thither presents to the warring tribesmen in order to induce them to keep the peace. We have no account of the visit of Captain Hughes Randin,

⁹ Kellogg, *French Régime*, 114-117.

¹⁰ Kellogg, *Early Narratives*, 135-137.

which occurred about 1676, except what is shown in his excellent map, which still exists only in manuscript.¹¹

The intertribal war continued to rage and Lake Superior remained closed to French trade and exploration until the arrival of that great gentleman of Old and New France, Daniel Greysolon, sieur du Lhut, or, to give his name its modern form, Duluth. What took Du Lhut to this distant region is not known; certainly it was not the desire for trade, for while his enemies stigmatized him as "king of the *coureurs de bois*," he indignantly repudiated the charge that he was a trader. Probably he was actuated by pure love of adventure and a desire to do an important service for New France. His first year on Lake Superior was spent in negotiating treaties between the warring tribesmen. Taking his life in his hands, in 1679 he advanced from the Chippewa habitat at the east end of Lake Superior into the territory of their deadliest enemies, the fierce, intractable Sioux. By sheer force of character he dominated this tribe, and induced it to form an alliance with France and all its allied tribesmen. Then, calling a great council at the head of the lake, he took thither deputies from the Assiniboin and Christinaux of the farther west and laid the *pax Franciscus* upon them all. Fitly indeed, has this great city, grown up near the council ground, taken the name of this explorer, discoverer, diplomat, and pacifier, Sieur du Lhut.

For a decade and a half more Du Lhut ranged the western country, driven by a strong desire to explore westward to the great salt sea of which he had heard, ever balked by the necessities of warfare and the demands of the governors of New France. Twice he was recalled to serve on expeditions against the Iroquois; and again to build and occupy a fort between Lakes Erie and Huron. But his heart was ever in the Far West and only when age and infirmities overtook him did he reluctantly ask for a recall to the quiet life at Montreal, where

¹¹ Kellogg, *French Régime*, 201.

in 1710 he died in his own house, with a modicum of honor for his discoveries.

Du Lhut's successor in the Lake Superior country was a man of a different temper, an eager trader and a successful diplomat, Pierre le Sueur. He built on the foundation laid by his predecessor and safeguarded for French activity the passage between Lake Superior and the Mississippi by placing a fortress near each end of the route. The triumph of Le Sueur's career occurred in 1695 when he induced a great Sioux chieftain to accompany him to Montreal and there in the presence of the governor and his staff to sign a treaty of alliance with the French authority and thus to end the intertribal warfare around the upper lake.

The close of the seventeenth century saw a great transformation in the French policy concerning the West; all posts were abandoned, all officers withdrawn, traders were forbidden to go up the lakes, the Indians were to be induced to visit Canada to do their trading, and, for the rest, the entire region was left to solitude. These conditions lasted only a few years. The Indians, accustomed to traders' visits, refused to make the long journey to Montreal, their intertribal quarrels broke out anew, and the governors of New France found it necessary to protect the fur trade by new garrisoned posts in the western country. Michilimackinac was reoccupied in 1714; in 1717 a French officer was sent to the northwest extremity of Lake Superior to build a post, from which it was hoped a route might be found to the western ocean. La Pointe on Chequamegon Bay was regarrisoned in 1718, and from this center a systematic attempt was made to exploit the copper resources of the southern shore.¹²

For the French of the eighteenth century Lake Superior was an economic resource rather than a scene for adventure. Thence came the richest furs, there were mines they hoped to exploit; yet in the heart of one commandant at a north shore

¹² Kellogg, *French Régime*, 257-260, 297-299, 351-356.

post lingered the love of adventure and the lure for the unknown. Pierre Gauthier, sieur de la Vérendrye, and his noble sons maintained the tradition of French courage and resource in the Far West and, in the face of almost insuperable obstacles, pushed French occupation out onto the vast plains northwest of Lake Superior and opened a great empire for New France.

But it was all in vain, the rulers of Canada were no longer of heroic strain. Cupidity and fraud had eaten into the fabric of the colony, which fell an easy prey to the robust Britons. During the French and Indian Wars, which ended in the entire expulsion of French power from the North American continent, the posts on Lake Superior were abandoned one by one, their officers and men called in for the defense of the St. Lawrence, and the great upper lake was left once more to Indian occupation. At the capitulation of Montreal in 1760 all the western posts were included in the surrender. So far as is known, however, none of the French posts on Lake Superior were then garrisoned. La Pointe was evacuated in 1759 and probably the few soldiers at the Sault were withdrawn at this time or earlier. When Lieutenant Jamet with a British contingent went in 1762 to take possession at the Sault, he found only a single trader in charge. In May of the same year a few British soldiers accompanied some traders as far as Grand Portage, thus bearing for the first time the British flag throughout the length of Lake Superior.¹⁸

The French régime on the Great Lakes was ended officially and diplomatically. Yet in being conquered the French were still conquerors. Throughout all the many years of the later fur trade, French *engagés* and *voyageurs* were indispensable. None knew like the light-hearted French-Canadian habitants how to endure courageously the dangers of the wilderness, how to breast and run the swift rapids of the northern streams,

¹⁸ Thompson Maxwell, "Narrative — 1760-1763," in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 11: 215.

how to portage around falls and obstructions, how to seek the distant hunting grounds of the Indians, how to barter with the red men for their valued pelts. No flotilla set forth along Lake Superior or braved the difficult passage to the interior without its quota of western Frenchmen. Every dip of the oar or the paddle was accompanied by French songs, and the language of barter was a curious admixture of French and Indian.¹⁴ In this sense the French régime in the Great Lakes country is not yet ended; the guides who take summer tourists through the north country are nearly all French-speaking, the place names of the soft French syllables still linger on our maps. The debt of the Northwest to French discoverers and explorers is not yet extinguished. In the Great Lakes country the French régime still lingers as a memory of the past and a heritage for the future.

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STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN
MADISON

¹⁴ See Grace Lee Nute, *The Voyageur* (New York, 1931).

GRAND PORTAGE¹

I have not words to tell you how deeply I appreciate the honor you have conferred upon me in asking me to speak to you on this historic occasion. I am sure I express the feelings of every Canadian here today when I say that we deem it a privilege to be permitted to join with you in commemorating the two-hundredth anniversary of the discovery of Grand Portage and of all that grew out of that discovery. For it must not be forgotten that when La Vérendrye landed on these shores two centuries ago and sent his nephew and his son forward to Rainy Lake, he set in motion forces that have profoundly influenced these two neighboring countries. In the years that followed he and his gallant sons made their way into the West, to the Lake of the Woods, Lake Winnipeg, Red River, the Assiniboine, the Missouri, and the Saskatchewan, blazing a path to those vast interior plains of North America that today help so materially to feed the nations of the world. Incidentally it is an odd fact that the first attempt by white men to raise grain west of the Great Lakes was made nearly two hundred years ago; the farmer was La Vérendrye, and the place that curiously isolated bit of Minnesota on the west side of the Lake of the Woods.

But I am to talk to you about Grand Portage, and if I hesitate to embark upon that subject, and if you find what I have to say to you this afternoon neither informative nor diverting, please bear in mind that Dr. Buck has already told the story of Grand Portage so completely and entertainingly that

¹ An address presented at Grand Portage on August 22, 1931, at the celebration sponsored by the Cook County Historical Society in coöperation with the Minnesota Historical Society, of the two-hundredth anniversary of the landing of the French explorer, La Vérendrye, at Grand Portage. This meeting formed the final session of the tenth state historical convention. *Ed.*

those of us who follow must be content to pick up the unregarded crumbs that fell from his study table.³

Throughout the period of the fur trade — French, British, and American — portages were to the trader what ports of call are to the sailor or filling stations to the automobilist. As the sailor goes ashore at a port of call, or the driver of a car gets out at a filling station to stretch his legs and swap news with others of his kind, while the business of his particular vehicle is being attended to, so the trader and his *voyageurs* looked forward to each portage because it broke the monotony of the day's paddling and gave opportunity for a smoke, and also because there was always the chance that they might meet friends or acquaintances journeying the other way.

The portages of North America were keys to the most extraordinary system of water communication on the face of the earth. Not only is it theoretically true, but time and again it has been demonstrated in practice, that men could travel in a canoe from such a central point as this, east to the Atlantic, west to the Pacific, north to the Arctic or Hudson Bay, or south to the Gulf of Mexico, with nothing more than an occasional portage.

The St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes, through their tributary rivers, were connected by numerous portages, on the one side with rivers flowing into the Atlantic or the Mississippi, and on the other with streams emptying into Hudson Bay; in the first case to the Hudson, Ohio, Illinois, and Wisconsin rivers, to mention but a few, and in the other to the Albany, Moose, Nottaway, and Rupert. The names of scores of portages on the Ottawa, that once renowned thoroughfare to the West, are found in narratives of the fur trade. Farther west, portages connected the Red and the Mississippi, the Saskatch-

³ *The Story of the Grand Portage* is the title of a pamphlet (16 p.) by Solon J. Buck, published by the Cook County Historical Society in connection with the La Vérendrye celebration at Grand Portage (Minneapolis, 1931). This is a revision of Dr. Buck's article of the same title, *ante*, 5: 14-27. Ed.

ewan and the Missouri. Frog Portage, leading north from the Saskatchewan to the Churchill, was well known to the pioneer fur-traders of Canada; and the beautiful Methye Portage, from the upper waters of the Churchill to the Clearwater, a tributary of the Athabaska, was even more famous. Giscome Portage took the trader from one of the remote sources of the Mackenzie to that tumultuous river, the Fraser, linking streams named in honor of two Scottish-Canadians who were even more famous as explorers than as fur-traders. But none of these paths around waterfalls or rapids, or connecting the waters of different river systems, with their abiding memories of human endeavor, their heroic associations, their tragedies, and their comedies, is more deservedly famous than this one the bicentenary of which we are gathered here to commemorate — the Grand Portage and the explorers and fur-traders whose names are associated with it.

As is so often the case, it is no longer possible to say with absolute certainty who among white men first discovered and used this jumping-off place from the Great Lakes to the western plains and the Indian country. The French explorer, Radisson, may have passed this way in 1662. So may Daniel Greysolon, *sieur du Lhut* in 1679; and Zacharie Robutel de la Noue in 1717. We know, for instance, that on some old maps Pigeon River appears as *Groseillier*, which means currant or gooseberry, but which is also the name by which Medard Chouart, Radisson's brother-in-law and companion on his western explorations, was known. And we also know that in 1722 an officer named Pachot, who was associated with La Noue, wrote that the route that was then thought the most favorable for penetrating the West was by way of a small river named *Nantokouagane* — and that was the Indian name for Pigeon River. Nevertheless, we have no certain knowledge that any of these French explorers ever saw the Pigeon River or stood on the ground where we stand today. On the other hand, we do know that in 1731 — two hundred years

ago — one of the most gallant and determined and unselfish of western explorers, Pierre Gaultier de Varennes, sieur de la Vérendrye, stood upon this spot, and to him therefore rightly belongs the honor of discovering the Grand Portage.

The evidence, while conclusive, is meager. It would have been interesting to have a comprehensive account from La Vérendrye of the circumstances attending his arrival here, but the explorer unfortunately did not realize that two centuries after his visit a notable group of people, speaking an alien tongue, would be gathered on this spot merely to commemorate that occasion. If he could have foreseen it, perhaps he would have put more life into his story, and perhaps not.

In a memoir sent to the French governor, Beauharnois, in 1730, LaVérendrye says that an Indian named Auchagah, whom he had selected as guide on his projected expedition toward the Western Sea, had drawn for him a map showing three separate routes leading from Lake Superior to the West. One of these rivers was called Fond du Lac, the second was known as Nantouagan, and the third was the Kaministiquia. This map was sent to the governor, and it has been repeatedly reproduced. It is interesting to find, even at this early date, so clear a knowledge of the three portage routes between Lake Superior and Rainy Lake.

La Vérendrye writes, referring to the Grand Portage and the Kaministiquia:

The two latter are those on which everything is marked with exactness on the map, lakes, rapids, portages, the side on which the portage must be made, and the heights of land; all this is represented or indicated. Comparing these two routes, the river Nantouagan, which is two days' journey from the river Kaministikwia going towards the extremity of the lake, is, it seems to me, the one to be preferred. It has, it is true, forty-two portages, while the Kaministikwia has only twenty-two; but, on the other hand, it has no rapids, while the other has twelve, two of which are long and very shallow. Besides, the road is straight and one third shorter. The height of land for this route is not over fifty leagues

distant, and after seventy leagues at most there is a steady descent. Finally, in spite of all the portages, the savage assures me that, with easy travelling, we shall get from Lake Superior to Lake Tecamamiouen in twenty days at the most, and from there in four days to the Lake of the Woods, and in ten to Lake Winnipeg.

There is no evidence here that any white man had yet crossed the Grand Portage and followed that route to Rainy Lake. The information seems to come entirely from Indian sources.

Unfortunately the letter to Beauharnois in which La Vérendrye described his journey of 1731 has not survived. All that we have is the governor's report to Maurepas, minister of the colonies under Louis XV, describing what he had learned from the explorer and from a missionary who had accompanied him, and La Vérendrye's brief reference to this journey in a report written thirteen years afterwards.

Beauharnois writes in a letter of October, 1732:

I have received letters from the *Sieur de la Vérendrye*, who is in charge of the expedition for the discovery of the Western Sea, and from the Reverend Father Mésaiger, who inform me that, the men engaged being discouraged by the length of the portage of Nantaouagan, which is three and a quarter leagues long, they were obliged to stop at Kaministikwia and winter there, the season being too far advanced to risk going further and possibly coming to countries where they would have lacked provisions; that nevertheless the *Sieur de la Vérendrye* had despatched the *Sieur de la Jemeraye* with three medium-sized canoes, and that he himself had gone with three others that followed him to the outlet of Lake Tecamamiouen at the entrance of the river which flows into the Lake of the Woods, where he wintered in a fort which he caused to be constructed and which is in latitude 47° 15'.

In La Vérendrye's report for 1744 he says:

I left Montreal on the 8th of June, 1731, intending to mark my perfect attachment to the service to which I confine all my ambition.

I associated several persons with myself in order the more easily to provide for the expenses which the enterprise might involve, and in passing Michilimackinac I took the Reverend Father Mésaiger, Jesuit, with me as our missionary.

We arrived on the twenty-sixth of August at the Grand Portage of Lake Superior, which is fifteen leagues south-southwest of Kaministikwia. . . .

On the twenty-seventh all our people, in dismay at the length of the portage, three leagues, mutinied and loudly demanded that I should turn back, but with the aid of our Missionary Father I was able to induce one man out of the number of those I had hired to go with my nephew La Jemeraye (who was my second in command), and my son, to establish the post of Rainy lake. I had enough to equip four medium-sized canoes. I had the portage made at once and gave them a good guide.

I was afterwards obliged to winter at Kaministikwia, which was a great loss to me as regards both the payment of the hired men and the goods that I had on my hands, without any hope of recovering any portion of the expense, which was considerable.

On the twenty-ninth of May following, on the arrival of the canoes which I had sent inland, I sent my eldest son to convey to Michilimackinac the small amount of peltries that had come to me and bring back the goods which were to come to me from Montreal.

On the eighth of June we left, the Missionary Father, my nephew and two of my sons, with seven canoes, to proceed with my discovery. I took great care to improve all the portages by which we had to pass, and we finally arrived on the fourteenth of July at fort St. Pierre at the outlet of Rainy lake, which our Frenchmen had built the previous autumn. More than fifty canoes of savages accompanied us and conducted us to fort St. Charles.

La Vérendrye and his sons continued to use the Grand Portage route, so far as we know, until they finally withdrew from the West. It is probable that the father saw this place for the last time on his way down to Quebec in 1745, and the sons, two years later. Legardeur de Saint-Pierre, who was sent west to continue the explorations of La Vérendrye, was at the Grand Portage in 1750, and La Corne was there three years later. This is the last we hear of the Grand Portage up to the close of the period of French rule in Canada.

There is a passage in Alexander Mackenzie's *General History of the Fur Trade*, written about 1801, which is somewhat puzzling. After pointing out that it was not until 1766 that

British fur-traders made their way farther west than Michilimackinac, he goes on to say:

The first who attempted it were satisfied to go the length of the river Camenistiquia, about thirty miles to the Eastward of the Grande Portage, where the French had a principal establishment, and was the line of their communication with the interior country. It was once destroyed by fire. Here they went and returned successful in the following spring to Michilimackinac. Their success induced them to renew their journey, and incited others to follow their example. Some of them remained at Camenistiquia, while others proceeded to and beyond the Grande Portage, which, since that time has become the principal entrepot of that trade.

Now does Mackenzie mean that it was at Kaministiquia or at Grand Portage that the French had their principal establishment, and that that was the line of their communication with the interior country? His language might be taken to refer to either. We know that the French had a post at Kaministiquia, and there is, so far as I am aware, no reference elsewhere to a post at Grand Portage, though there might very well have been one, as this was an important point on the way to the West. On the other hand, the principal line of French communication would appear to have been the Grand Portage route. It would be interesting to discover some conclusive evidence as to the existence of a trading post here during the French period.

Jonathan Carver, in his *Travels*, says that he arrived at Grand Portage the end of July, 1767. He writes:

Here those who go to the north-west trade, to the Lakes De Pluye [*Rainy Lake*], Dubois [*Lake of the Woods*], &c., carry over their canoes and baggage about nine miles. . . .

At the Grand Portage is a small bay, before the entrance of which lies an island that intercepts the dreary and uninterrupted view over the Lake, which otherwise would have presented itself, and makes the bay serene and pleasant. Here I met a large party of the Killistnoe [*Cree*] and Assinipoil [*Assiniboin*] Indians, with their respective kings and their families. They were come

to this place in order to meet the traders from Michillimackinac, who make this their road to the north-west.

It was while Carver was at Grand Portage that he was given an example of Indian magic that completely mystified him. According to his story, a medicine man, having been rolled up like a mummy in an elk skin and tied securely with strong thongs, went into a trance, and then suddenly sprang to his feet, bursting his bonds asunder — all of which sounds rather like Houdini. What was more remarkable, however, was that the medicine man had been asked if he could ascertain when certain traders, who were then overdue, would reach Grand Portage. When he came out of his trance he said: "The Great Spirit . . . has not, indeed, told me when the persons we expect, will be here; but tomorrow, soon after the sun has reached his highest point in the heavens, a canoe will arrive, and the people in that will inform us when the traders will come." Carver continues:

The next day the sun shone bright, and long before noon all the Indians were gathered together on the eminence that overlooked the lake. The old king came to me and asked me, whether I had so much confidence in what the priest had foretold, as to join his people on the hill, and wait for the completion of it? I told him I was at a loss what opinion to form of the prediction, but that I would readily attend him. On this we walked together to the place where the others were assembled. Every eye was again fixed by turns on me and on the lake; when just as the sun had reached his zenith, agreeable to what the priest had foretold, a canoe came round a point of land about a league distant. The Indians no sooner beheld it, than they set up an universal shout, and by their looks seemed to triumph in the interest their priest thus evidently had with the Great Spirit.

In less than an hour the canoe reached the shore, when I attended the king and chiefs to receive those who were on board. As soon as the men were landed, we walked all together to the king's tent, when according to their invariable custom, we began to smoke; and this we did, notwithstanding our impatience to know the tidings they brought, without asking any questions; for the Indians are the most deliberate people in the world. However, after some trivial conversation, the king enquired of them,

whether they had seen anything of the traders? The men replied, that they had parted from them a few days before, and that they proposed being here the second day from the present. They accordingly arrived at that time greatly to our satisfaction, but more particularly so to that of the Indians, who found by this event the importance both of their priests and of their nation, greatly augmented in the sight of a stranger.

From 1767 onwards the importance of Grand Portage grew steadily, and for a quarter of a century or more it was regarded as the western headquarters of the fur trade. Unfortunately fur-traders were not as a rule given to the keeping of diaries or journals, and we get only such occasional glimpses of the life at Grand Portage as the comment of Alexander Henry, the elder, who wrote in 1775: "At the Grand Portage I found the traders in a state of extreme reciprocal hostility, each pursuing his interests in such a manner as might most injure his neighbor." Modern commerce has in some respects grown away from that primitive idea of neighborliness, but it may be questioned if even today we have not still some way to travel before we live up to the spirit of the Golden Rule.

Roderick McKenzie, a cousin of Sir Alexander Mackenzie, who had gone out from Scotland in 1784 and joined the staff of Gregory McLeod and Company in Montreal, reached Grand Portage the following summer. Roderick, it will be remembered, spent several years collecting material for a history of the fur trade, but apparently the labor of gathering the information exhausted his enthusiasm. At any rate the work was never published, though some of the journals were afterwards printed by Louis R. Masson in his *Bourgeois de la compagnie du nord-ouest*.

Peter Pangman, in 1785 a member of the firm of Gregory McLeod and Company, and afterwards a partner of the Northwest Company, went out from Grand Portage to meet the west-bound brigade. "He accompanied us," says Roderick McKenzie, "to his new establishment, which consisted of one *hangard* or store warmly put together, and sufficiently spacious

for the purpose of the season." Masson adds that it stood on the north side of Pigeon River and "opposite the 'old fort' occupied by their opponents" of the Northwest Company.

A few days after McKenzie reached Grand Portage John Gregory, Sir Alexander Mackenzie, and James Finlay arrived from Michilimackinac. "Now," says Roderick, "all the members of the new concern were assembled at their Head Quarters." Gregory, Pangman, John Ross, and Alexander Mackenzie were partners; Duncan Pollock and Laurent Leroux were clerks; and James Finlay and Roderick McKenzie, apprentice clerks. Pangman retired from the fur trade in 1793 and purchased the seigneurie of Mascouche in Quebec. Leroux was afterwards associated with Alexander Mackenzie and David Thompson in western exploration; he built Fort Providence on Great Slave Lake in 1790, became a member of the legislative assembly of Quebec forty years later, and died at the age of ninety-seven — not an unusual example of longevity in the fur trade.

Roderick McKenzie gives us interesting glimpses of the life at Grand Portage in 1785. He was only a youngster, fresh from the very different life of the Old World, but he seems to have fitted himself very quickly and efficiently into the ways of the western fur trade. He notes in his reminiscences that "Pollock and Leroux did not seem to like doing the ordinary drudgery attending the generous *rendez-vous* [at *Grand Portage*] and were seldom called upon to do it, so that I, who could yet claim no privilege, necessarily became the fag of the whole." Being a shrewd young Scot he did not grumble, though often enough he slept on his desk in the countinghouse. While his cousin Alexander, Pangman, Ross, and Pollock made up their outfits and set out for the interior posts, Roderick remained for the winter at Grand Portage under Pierre L'Anniau, who was in charge. It is amusing to speculate whether L'Anniau may not have been one of La Vérendrye's men. McKenzie says that he was put in charge of Grand Portage because he

"had been for many years in that country." L'Anniau might even have been that one loyal *voyageur* who went on with La Jémeraye when all the others refused to make the portage. Who knows?

The Northwest Company's post at Grand Portage was in 1785 in charge of a very respectable old man named Cloutier. With his assistant, Givins, who had been brought up at Detroit, McKenzie seems to have got on very well indeed, for he writes: "He and I, though in opposition, were always together and separated, in the Spring, good friends." That sounds better than the "extreme mutual hostility" of the days of Alexander Henry. Givins afterwards became superintendent of Indian affairs in Upper Canada. McKenzie also got on very well with the Indians, though on one occasion he threw out of the fort a native who had attacked L'Anniau with a knife. "When the leaves grow large in the Portage," cried the Indian, "I will remember you." That evening there was a drinking match in the native camp; "such a dreadful racket," says McKenzie, "that one might believe that all the Furies of Hell were let loose." In the morning one of the young men he had befriended came and told him that five Indians were dead. "One of them I killed," he said; "he was your enemy and meant to kill you on the first opportunity."

In the spring of 1786 Robert Grant and William McGillivray arrived at Grand Portage from the interior. They were both Northwest Company men. The former built Fort Espérance on the Qu'Appelle River in 1787; the latter, a nephew of Simon McTavish, the dominating spirit of the company, became a partner in 1790. Fort William was named for him. McKenzie called upon them when they arrived at Grand Portage, and was well pleased with his reception. A short time later he left for the English River with Alexander Mackenzie. Roderick McKenzie and William McGillivray had charge of rival posts that winter at Lac des Serpents, and they got along very well together. In the spring the two traders with their

men set out for Grand Portage and arrived there side by side, the crews singing in chorus, to the no small amazement of the more sophisticated folk at this metropolis of the fur trade. That year the rival interests were united in the Northwest Company.

In 1790 Alexander Mackenzie went down to Grand Portage from the Far West for the annual meeting of the partners. In the previous year he had made his famous expedition down the Mackenzie River to the Arctic. He writes to Roderick from Grand Portage on July 16 somewhat bitterly: "My expedition was hardly spoken of, but that is what I expected." The indifference of the partners to anything that did not further the interests of the fur trade did not, however, discourage the explorer from planning and carrying through to a successful conclusion in 1793 his even more notable expedition to the Pacific — the final culmination of that search for the Western Sea to which La Vérendrye had devoted his life.

Another Scotsman in the western fur trade who is casually met with at Grand Portage is John McDonald of Garth, known to the *voyageurs* as *Bras Croche* because he had a deformed arm. Notwithstanding this and the further handicap that he was small in stature, *Bras Croche* had all the pride and fiery temper of a Highlander. In the preface to his "Autobiographical Notes" he reminds us that the McDonalds date back to Noah, had a boat of their own on Loch Lomond, and were therefore independent of the ark. On the way over from Scotland this pugnacious boy of seventeen challenged a fellow-Scot to a duel because of some fancied slight. Through the influence of his granduncle, General Small, he had been given a clerkship in the Northwest Company; and in June, 1791, he started out from Lachine with the annual brigade. Simon McTavish was in the party. McDonald records:

There were great rejoicings at Grand Portage on Mr. McTavish's arrival: several Partners were there from the interior, as well as the Agents from Montreal. . . . During a stay of per-

haps a fortnight here I had a quarrel with a clerk, a large Englishman of the name of Harrison. He threw a loaf of bread at me, and I called him out — with my pocket pistols again. — He took a rope and said: "this is my pistol." He was afterwards under my command, and a very good fellow, but no trader.

Two years later McDonald is back at Grand Portage with the east-bound brigade. "The men, on arrival at Grand Portage," he writes, "were always regaled with plenty, and feasted on bread and pork — an unusual diet — and a *coup* to make them merry. There were usually about six to eight hundred men on the ground."

In January, 1794, Alexander Mackenzie writes to his cousin from Fort Chipewyan, on Lake Athabaska:

I wish we could contrive matters so that we could both go to the Portage. The *Premier* [a name applied in derision to Simon McTavish because of his haughty manner] having arrived from England, we may expect him at the Grand Portage, where it will be right that all the interested should meet him.

I am fully bent upon going down, for I think it unpardonable for any body to remain in this country who can leave it."

Three years later Roderick McKenzie was again at Grand Portage, after a considerable absence. On his way inland to Rainy Lake he met a family of Indians at the height of land "from whom" he says "I accidentally learned the existence of a water communication a little way behind and parallel to this, extending from Lake Superior to Lake *La Pluie*, which is navigable for large canoes and, if adopted, would avoid the Grand Portage." He continues:

This was excellent information; of course I immediately engaged one of the Indians to meet me at a certain point in *Lac La Croix*, to show me this new route, but on my arrival, as appointed, the Indian was not there. However, being acquainted with the entrance of the route, I proceeded without him and reached a post of the Company where I procured a guide who accompanied me to Caministiquia on Lake Superior, from whence I soon reached Grand Portage, being the first who reached there from *Lac La Pluie* direct by water communication.

This apparently new route, being at the door of Grand Portage, and formerly used by the French, it is most astonishing that the North-West Company were not acquainted with it sooner.

It was as a result of this rediscovery of the Kaministiquia route that the Northwest Company decided to remove its headquarters from Grand Portage to the mouth of the Kaministiquia, where Fort William was built.

The year 1797 is notable in that it probably brought together at Grand Portage the three men who were preëminently the explorers of western Canada during the early part of the period of British rule. We know in any event that Sir Alexander Mackenzie, David Thompson, and Simon Fraser were all at Grand Portage in that year, and it is altogether probable that they were there at the same time. Mackenzie, who was then agent of the Northwest Company, attended the annual meetings at Grand Portage. David Thompson arrived there on July 22, 1797, having left the service of the Hudson's Bay Company and joined the Northwest Company's forces. Simon Fraser was in charge of the post at Grand Portage. It would be interesting to know what each thought of the others. They were, of course, in different official grades at that time, for Mackenzie was a magnate of the fur trade, Fraser was in charge of a post, and Thompson had just joined the company, though in a special capacity. All three are, however, listed as *bourgeois* or partners in 1804.

In 1798 David Thompson met Alexander Mackenzie again at Sault Ste. Marie, and the former was instructed to continue the survey he had already made of the south shore of Lake Superior around the north shore to Grand Portage. He completed it in six days, and that was quick work because Thompson never made a perfunctory survey; what he did was done thoroughly. In his manuscript journal for this year, which has not been published, he gives, according to J. B. Tyrrell, "a very interesting account of the men who were almost daily arriving [*at Grand Portage*] from, and departing for, many widely separated posts throughout the west."

The following year Thompson again went down to Grand Portage, taking with him this time his young bride of not quite fourteen, daughter of Patrick Small, the fur-trader. He left for the West with John McDonald of Garth. By the way, the Thompsons ultimately had what today — outside of Quebec — would be regarded as a fairly large family, seven sons and six daughters. Roderick McKenzie was also at Grand Portage in 1799, that year "so critical in the history of the N. W. Co. when the rivalry between Sir Alexander Mackenzie and Simon McTavish culminated in the withdrawal of the former, amidst angry dissensions at G. P. between the wintering bourgeois and the agents of the company."

Alexander Mackenzie, in his *General History of the Fur Trade*, describes Grand Portage and the life there as they were in 1801. He writes:

The bottom of the bay, which forms an amphitheatre, is cleared of wood and inclosed; and on the left corner of it, beneath an hill, three or four hundred feet in height, and crowned by others of a still greater altitude, is the fort, picketed in with cedar pallisadoes, and inclosing houses built with wood and covered with shingles. They are calculated for every convenience of trade, as well as to accommodate the proprietors and clerks during their short residence there. The north men live under tents: but the more formal pork-eater lodges beneath his canoe.

Mackenzie then proceeds to describe the arrival of a brigade from Montreal.

When they are arrived at the Grande Portage, which is near nine miles over, each of them has to carry eight packages of such goods and provisions as are necessary for the interior country. This is a labour which cattle cannot conveniently perform in summer, as both horses and oxen were tried by the company without success. They are only useful for light, bulky articles; or for transporting upon sledges, during the winter, whatever goods may remain there, especially provision, of which it is usual to have a year's stock on hand.

Having finished this toilsome part of their duty, if more goods are necessary to be transported, they are allowed a Spanish dollar for each package: and so inured are they to this kind of labour, that I have known some of them set off with two packages of

ninety pounds each, and return with two others of the same weight, in the course of six hours, being a distance of eighteen miles over hills and mountains. This necessary part of the business being over, if the season be early they have some respite, but this depends upon the time the North men begin to arrive from their winter quarters, which they commonly do early in July. At this period, it is necessary to select from the pork-eaters, a number of men, among whom are the recruits, or winterers, sufficient to man the North canoes necessary to carry, to the river of the rainy lake, the goods and provisions requisite for the Athabasca country; as the people of that country (owing to the shortness of the season and length of the road, can come no further) are equipped there, and exchange ladings with the people of whom we are speaking, and both return from whence they came. This voyage is performed in the course of a month, and they are allowed proportionable wages for their services.

This was the mode of living at Grand Portage, as described by Mackenzie:

The proprietors, clerks, guides, and interpreters, mess together, to the number of sometimes an hundred, at several tables, in one large hall, the provision consisting of bread, salt pork, beef, hams, fish, and venison, butter, peas, Indian corn, potatoes, tea, spirits, wine, &c., and plenty of milk, for which purpose several milch cows are constantly kept. The mechanics have rations of such provision, but the canoe-men, both from the North and Montreal, have no other allowance here, or in the voyage, than Indian corn and melted fat. The corn for this purpose is prepared before it leaves Detroit, by boiling it in a strong alkali, which takes off the outer husk; it is then well washed, and carefully dried upon stages, when it is fit for use. One quart of this is boiled for two hours, over a moderate fire, in a gallon of water; to which, when it has boiled a small time, are added two ounces of melted suet; this causes the corn to split, and in the time mentioned makes a pretty thick pudding. If to this is added a little salt, (but not before it is boiled, as it would interrupt the operation) it makes a wholesome, palatable food, and easy of digestion. This quantity is fully sufficient for a man's subsistence during twenty-four hours; though it is not sufficiently heartening to sustain the strength necessary for a state of active labour. The Americans call this dish hominee.

Mackenzie then tells us something about the brigade from the West.

The North men being arrived at the Grande Portage, are regaled with bread, pork, butter, liquor and tobacco, and such as have not entered into agreements during the winter, which is customary, are contracted with, to return and perform the voyage for one, two, or three years: their accounts are also settled, and such as choose to send any of their earnings to Canada, receive drafts to transmit to their relations or friends: and as soon as they can be got ready, which requires no more than a fortnight, they are again despatched to their respective departments. It is, indeed, very creditable to them as servants, that though they are sometimes assembled to the number of twelve hundred men, indulging themselves in the free use of liquor, and quarrelling with each other, they always show the greatest respect to their employers, who are comparatively but few in number, and beyond the aid of any legal power to enforce due obedience. In short, a degree of subordination can only be maintained by the good opinion these men entertain of their employers, which has been uniformly the case, since the trade has been formed and conducted on a regular system.

In the narrative of Alexander Henry, the younger, one finds a more vivacious account of the east-bound brigade:

Everything went over the portages at one trip. Canoes and all at full trot; embarked all hands helter-skelter, pushed off, and all paddled as if chased by an enemy. The Lake Winipic canoe was a dull vessel; threw her away at Lac du Bonnet and embarked her men in the five others. Arrived at Lac la Pluie early. . . . We had been stopped by the wind in Lac des Bois. . . . I procured a guide to take our brigade by the Kaministiquia road. . . . In Lac la Croix, at Pointe du Mai we struck away from the Grand Portage route, steering an E. course to the left just when we had overtaken an X Y brigade steering on the old track to the Grand Portage, where they continue to hold their general rendezvous. . . . Met at Prairie portage J. M. Bouché, who has built a hut and an oven to bake bread to sell to the winterers en passant for dressed leather, buffalo robes, etc. He had a great stock of provisions and other articles for sale. He dunned us with news from Canada, all of which we knew better than himself, having met our dispatches from Montreal, etc., at Lac la Pluie. These petty traders are really a nuisance on the route. At Portage des Chênes we found another one, but he was not so loquacious as Bouché. We therefore soon got rid of him by taking wherewith to treat our men of liquor and provisions.

. . . In the afternoon we arrived at our new establishment of

Kaministiquia. The first objects that struck us were two vessels lying with their sides against the bank, the *Invincible* and the *Otter*, which were unloading their cargoes.

As the sloop "*Otter*" was plying on Lake Superior as early as 1798 she must have used the old dock at Grand Portage. It may be noted that Henry is writing in 1803, after the Northwest Company had removed its headquarters to Fort William. It is a curious fact, however, that the 1802 agreement of the Northwest Company, which was to govern its operations for a period of years, was not only signed at Grand Portage on July 5, but provides among other things that the annual meeting of the company be held as heretofore in June or July at Grand Portage, that the accounts be forwarded there, and that members of the firm of McTavish, Frobisher, and Company make an annual visit "for the purpose of conducting managing and carrying on the business of the concern on the communication to and at the Grand Portage as heretofore practiced by the agents of the North-West Company." The decision to remove the headquarters to Fort William must have been decidedly sudden. With that removal we may conveniently bring to a close this rambling account of Grand Portage. It continued to be used as a trading post but, as Washington Irving said later of Fort William when it too declined from its high estate, "the glory of the lords of the lakes and the forest has passed away."

May I say in conclusion how deeply conscious I am of the importance to ourselves and to our respective nations of such a meeting as this? Here Canadians and Americans come together not as strangers but as neighbors to commemorate an event that is one of the many links in a chain of circumstance that binds together these commonwealths in a union that is none the less real because it does not affect even remotely the national sovereignty of either. The international boundary that lies so near Grand Portage, while it marks the frontiers of two distinct governments, and might in other parts of the

world represent mutual distrust and dislike, is here in a very real sense the invisible band that unites two peoples who politically, socially, and intellectually look at the problems of the modern world from much the same point of view. May Canada and the United States stand shoulder to shoulder in every movement that has for its purpose the welfare of this same rather troubled and bewildered modern world.

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THE PUBLIC LAND OFFICER ON THE NORTHWESTERN FRONTIER¹

In the midst of the teeming frontier activities of three-quarters of a century ago there existed one type of pioneer the constructive character of whose services the student of history has not always recognized — the public land officer. Like certain others who have been occupied with the routine duties of government office, the land officer has been more or less taken for granted.

Settlers were apt to expect the federal land policy to function with mechanical accuracy and smoothness, forgetting that its operations must be directed by human beings working much of the time under the most trying conditions. If these expectations met with disappointment, as they did on more than one occasion, the most convenient target for the irate pioneer was the government officer and his policy. Land officers were frequently subjected to unbridled abuse, being charged with graft, corruption, and other despicable offenses. Numerous comments in early newspapers refer to "land office rings" and "moccasin" land office "cliques," and these terms by no means exhaust the list of uncomplimentary allusions.

But there is another side to the case. The men who made the earliest surveys in Minnesota as well as those who conducted local land offices often endured even more physical hazards than explorers and first settlers. It should be pointed out that surveys required travel in straight lines, regardless of the nature of the terrain. A surveyor usually could not pick the natural trails of the country, and he sometimes went perforce where Indians and fur-traders refused to go.

¹ A paper, originally entitled "Some Federal Land Office Operations in Minnesota, with Special Reference to the Arrowhead Region," read on August 21, 1931, at the Two Harbors session of the tenth state historical convention under the auspices of the Minnesota Historical Society. *Ed.*

Minnesota's earliest linear surveys, made in 1847 and involving operations in the swamps and forests between the Mississippi and St. Croix rivers and Lake Superior, are of interest in this connection. Henry A. Wiltse was the deputy surveyor in charge, and his graphic description of the journey of his party deserves consideration.² Wiltse was under contract to survey part of the fourth prime meridian and what was then the third correction line from that meridian to the Mississippi, about a hundred and seventy-five miles in what is now Wisconsin and Minnesota. His party consisted of "just double the number generally employed" in such work, and he had with him also a solar compass operator, because the magnetic compass was valueless for surveying the trap rock formations near Lake Superior. "I was fully aware," writes Wiltse, "that . . . it would be impossible for one man to carry more than provision enough for his own consumption, and . . . that my party must inevitably suffer for food ere they could reach the lake [*Superior*]. . . . Every man, even my axemen, my chain carriers, and myself were severally packed with as much weight as we could possibly move under." The men took only the clothing on their backs, and a single blanket. There were no tents, as would normally have been the case. Food consisted only of pork and flour.

Wiltse continues: "Upon arriving at La Pointe," on Lake Superior, "in search of provisions, two of my men were too much exhausted to return, and in their stead I employed two of the regular packmen of the American Fur Company, and, as I was credibly told, two of the best men in that laborious service. These men, under *one-fourth* of the weight which they had been accustomed to carry . . . complained, and, before the work was completed, refused to carry a pack at all . . . declaring that they never had, and could not pack over such a

² Wiltse's report is in Commissioner of the General Land Office, *Annual Reports*, 1847, p. 94-97 (30 Congress, 1 session, *Senate Executive Documents*, no. 2—serial 504).

country." The deputy surveyor further asserts that "the Indians consider these swamps impassable." It was moreover very difficult to keep clothing even reasonably dry. Swarms of mosquitoes added to the torment of the hard-pressed travelers, and tangles of underbrush and windfalls could not be avoided since, as the deputy surveyor remarks, "we were all the while confined to a line, and consequently had no choice of ground." Before the trip ended provisions ran out and every member of the party "was crippled or in some way disabled." From the foregoing it may be concluded that Wiltse was right when he stated that the contract price of ten dollars per mile, or any price for that matter, would not induce him again to enter upon a similar survey, despite "a lifetime of experience in the field, and a great fondness for camp life." Similar tales of tremendous hardship are contained in the reports of David Dale Owen, who was conducting at that time a geological survey for the general land office in the same region.³

The act which created the original northeastern land district of Minnesota was passed nine years after the events just described. During the intervening time six land offices, in as many districts, had been established. Of these the earliest was that at Stillwater, which succeeded the office at St. Croix Falls, Wisconsin. The district lay in the triangle between the St. Croix and Mississippi rivers. The other five districts, established between 1852 and 1854, all fronted on the Mississippi; each was about five townships wide and extended to the western boundary of Minnesota Territory.⁴

³ General Land Office, *Reports*, 1847, p. 95, 96, 160-174 (serial 504). Owen, in his report, speaks of the "incredible hardships" endured by members of the Wiltse party, to which some of his own men had been attached for purposes of reconnaissance.

⁴ Public Land Commission, *Laws of the United States of a Local or Temporary Character, and Exhibiting the Entire Legislation of Congress upon which the Public Land Titles in Each State and Territory Have Depended, December 1, 1880*, nos. 1833, 1837, 1839, 1850 (46 Congress, 3 session, *House Executive Documents*, no. 47—serial 1976). This work will be cited hereafter as *Land Laws, 1880*.

The act of 1856 had the effect of drawing a line between townships 45 and 46, that is to say from the southeast corner of Carlton County straight west across the territory. From a point on that line between ranges 18 and 19, about seven miles southeast of the present town of Moose Lake, a second line was drawn north to the international boundary. All the territory bounded by these lines, by Lake Superior, and by the Canadian border became the new northeastern land district, and directly west of this was established the northwestern district. The president was authorized by law to locate the land offices in these districts and to appoint local land officers.⁵ For the more western district, Ojibway, at the mouth of the Crow Wing River, became the scene of federal operations; Buchanan, on the beautiful shores of Lake Superior at the mouth of the Knife River, was the location chosen for the northeastern district office. Here a new town site had been laid out and named in honor of President Buchanan, who may thus, perhaps, have been the more easily persuaded to select it as a land office location. Certainly the place had little else to hold out as an inducement. John Whipple of Rome, New York, the first receiver, testified to the "rude state" of affairs prevailing when he arrived to take up his duties in September, 1857. His partner in this work, the register, was Samuel Clark, who seems to have been appointed through the influence of that stalwart champion of the Homestead Bill, Galusha Grow.⁶

It should be pointed out here that the administrative machinery for all district land offices was very similar. The register accepted the filings for land and made most of the entry

⁵ *Land Laws*, 1880, no. 1850 (serial 1976).

⁶ John Whipple to Thomas A. Hendricks, September 18, 1857; Samuel Clark and Whipple to Hendricks, November 10, 1858, in the letter book of the Buchanan, Portland, and Duluth land offices. This volume, which covers the years from 1857 to 1880, is among the land office archives in the custody of the Minnesota Historical Society. Grow's influence in bringing about Clark's appointment is mentioned in Dwight E. Woodbridge and John S. Pardee, eds., *History of Duluth and St. Louis County*, 1:81 (Chicago, 1910).

records. The receiver accepted the money paid in for fees and land purchases, and he also acted as a government disbursing agent. He was required to deposit the funds he collected whenever they reached the level specified by the general land commissioner. In the fifties the level was five thousand dollars. Since the United States at that time had no depository nearer the Minnesota land offices than Chicago or Dubuque, it was no easy task to meet this requirement, even though there were few sales and the trip need be made but infrequently.⁷ Register and receiver sat together whenever land cases were tried, and they rendered a joint decision unless they disagreed. In that event they submitted the evidence, with their opinions, to the general land commissioner, who made the decision. Beyond this there was an opportunity of appeal to the secretary of the interior. As much help was furnished to each office as might be necessary. There was usually at least one clerk.

Surveys were administered by a surveyor-general, who was under the control of the commissioner of the general land office, but was entirely independent of the local land officers. Usually one surveying office served several land districts, and disputes arose at times when the surveyor-general distributed his deputies and contracts in such a way as to ignore the desires, if not the demands, of one or more of the land offices. It should be remembered, however, that the surveyor-general was often not to blame for such disagreements, inasmuch as his was the problem of stretching a limited Congressional appropriation to the utmost. Surveying headquarters for Minnesota were located at Dubuque until 1857, when the Detroit office was removed to St. Paul.⁸

Until that year no surveys were made in the new northeast-

⁷ Whipple to Hendricks, June 16, 1858, in the letter book of the Buchanan, Portland, and Duluth land offices; W. W. Lester, *Decisions of the Interior Department in Public Land Cases, and Land Laws*, 311-341 (Philadelphia, 1860).

⁸ Report of C. L. Emerson, surveyor-general of Minnesota, in 35 Congress, 1 session, *House Executive Documents*, no. 2, p. 119 (serial 942).

ern district; thereupon the region from the mouth of the Knife River to Fond du Lac on the St. Louis River received attention, and the first land sales took place in that section. The future importance of the land adjacent to the mouth of the St. Louis River was forecast in the scramble that immediately took place for choice positions on the water front. Among those who engaged in this contest were George and William Nettleton, J. B. Culver, and Sidney Luce. It may be of interest to note that the latter succeeded John Whipple as receiver of the land office for the northeastern district early in Lincoln's term and that he played a conspicuous part in the development of early Duluth.⁹

Settlers along Lake Superior were impatient to take up claims long before land office operations began. As early as 1854 a memorial from eighty-one inhabitants of the North Shore was received by the general land office. The settlers voiced "great anxiety" to have the tract of country surveyed that had been ceded to the United States by the Chippewa in the treaty of September 30 of that year. This request brought a readier response than usual because the agreement with the Indians provided for the surveying of both the Fond du Lac Reservation on the St. Louis River and that of Grand Portage near the Pigeon River. Congress refused the necessary appropriations, however, and dallied with the matter until 1856. Then, as previously indicated, the new land districts were created, and the sum of forty thousand dollars was set aside for the surveys in those sections.¹⁰ From that time, surveys moved ahead as rapidly as settlement in the Arrowhead region warranted, and when Lincoln was elected the whole shore line to

⁹ Woodbridge and Pardee, *Duluth and St. Louis County*, 1:84, 89; letters of Whipple and Luce to I. M. Edmunds, May 22, 1861, in the letter book of the Buchanan, Portland, and Duluth land offices.

¹⁰ Commissioner of the General Land Office, "Reports," in 34 Congress, 1 session, *Senate Executive Documents*, no. 1, p. 154 (serial 810); *Land Laws*, 1880, nos. 1846, 1850 (serial 1976).

the international boundary had received attention, including the two reservations to which allusion has been made.

Nevertheless the government did not move as swiftly as many of the settlers desired. Warner Lewis, surveyor-general for Iowa, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, in his annual report written at Dubuque late in 1855, after referring to the spread of white settlers along the North Shore and their repeated demands for new land, points to certain vexations connected with surveying the region. He notes the trouble in using the magnetic compass, which Wiltse had experienced earlier, and asserts that accurate work can be done only with the solar compass, which can be employed successfully only in the best summer weather, when there is plenty of sunshine.¹¹

The arrival of Whipple and Clark at Buchanan did not mean that active land sales could begin immediately. There was a tone of decided pessimism in some of the first letters that the receiver addressed to his superior, the commissioner of the general land office at Washington. He bewailed the fact that no plats of surveyed lands had been received from the office of the surveyor-general, and that there were very few other records and insufficient instructions as to procedure. Lacking these things, of course he could make no land sales and not even entries. The land office was "daily besieged by land claimants and contestants, keenly watching . . . lest somebody get the start of them." Moreover the office was small and "badly arranged," and there was no possibility of obtaining necessary workmen. Suitable furniture could be secured no closer than Chicago or Detroit, and the problem of moving a safe onto the premises from a lake steamer proved well-nigh insurmountable. In a letter to the commissioner of the general land office, Whipple reports that "The Safe Arrived at Superior." He continues: "I fear we shall have much trouble

¹¹ Report of Warner Lewis, in 34 Congress, 1 session, *Senate Executive Documents*, no. 1, p. 199 (serial 810).

and expense to get it on the ground. I find it will become necessary to build a plank road fifty rods, besides bring over men from Superior to remove it from the dock." He estimates that these operations will cost sixty dollars.¹²

But the real difficulty still remained — the plats and the mail for the office had not arrived. In the middle of October Whipple left the register to his own devices while he set out in search of the missing records. His trip was destined to stand as one of the most memorable in Minnesota land office history. The receiver first went to Chicago by steamer, and from there he traveled to Dubuque. He found that the mail bags for Buchanan had been taken from that place, so he went to St. Paul. There he could discover no trace of them and so he returned to Dubuque. The postmaster at that place, however, suggested that the mail "must, by mistake, have gone up the St. Croix to Taylor's Falls." Whipple therefore returned to Minnesota, and at the head of navigation on the St. Croix River he found the mail for which he had been looking. He still had to transport the records over the swampy country between Taylor's Falls and Buchanan. Ploughing through mud and wet grass, the receiver made a terrible trip with a packer, but he finally reached his land office late in November, though his experiences left him for some time barely able to walk. He had been gone about six weeks.¹³ The report of this land officer's experiences contains a graphic account of conditions in early Minnesota, and the events that he describes are significant, for they mark the inauguration of land sales in the northeastern district. It must be recalled that Whipple took to Buchanan the long delayed plats and other instructions from the general land office.

A month later, by Christmas, 1857, business was in full swing at this remote point. A large number of claims were

¹² Whipple to Hendricks, September 18, 28, October 4, 1857, in letter book of the Buchanan, Portland, and Duluth land offices; Woodbridge and Pardee, *Duluth and St. Louis County*, 1:82.

¹³ Whipple to Hendricks, November 25, 1857, in letter book of the Buchanan, Portland, and Duluth land offices.

being entered, and several contested cases had been heard by the register and the receiver.¹⁴ Nevertheless very little money was being paid into the receiver's hands. In this connection attention should be directed to the fact that the panic of 1857 had broken upon the country, and its disastrous effects were already bearing very heavily upon the frontier settlements in the Lake Superior region. Superior, Wisconsin, for instance, a bustling young city before the panic, was merely an empty shell for a number of years thereafter. The protracted effects of hard times continued until the Civil War, which had the result of further deranging the land business. Thus the boom so well started in the fall and winter of 1857 at the Buchanan office was of short duration, and it was not until the late sixties, with the beginning of the era of railroad building in northeastern Minnesota, that settlement began once more rapidly to go ahead. During the lean years of the late fifties and early sixties, only an occasional filing and some investigations of petty timber stealing broke the humdrum routine of the life of the land officer in the northeastern district.¹⁵ One wonders seriously how his salary of five hundred dollars a year, supplemented by only a few fees, sufficed, until one remembers that many people in this period were living on much less than he received.

In 1859 the northeastern district land office was removed from Buchanan to Portland, which later was absorbed by the city of Duluth. The name of the office was changed in May, 1862, to Duluth.¹⁶ It was combined with the Cass Lake office

¹⁴ Whipple to Hendricks, December 28, 1857, in letter book of the Buchanan, Portland, and Duluth land offices.

¹⁵ The letters in the letter book of the Buchanan, Portland, and Duluth land offices for the years from 1858 to 1869 reflect conditions during this period. Life in the region around Duluth and Superior in the late fifties and early sixties is well pictured in a volume by Lillian K. Stewart, entitled *A Pioneer of Old Superior* (Boston, 1930).

¹⁶ The first letter written by the receiver from the Portland office is dated July 1, 1859; the first from the Duluth office, May 1, 1862. Letter book of the Buchanan, Portland, and Duluth land offices.

in 1925. The period of great business activity in this land district occurred between 1869 and approximately 1900 — the building of railroads, the discovery of iron, and the growth of the lumber industry being the prime causes of that development.

Local land offices, such as the one established at Buchanan on the Knife River, were located at the very outposts of civilization. Nearly all the hazards of pioneering were involved in conducting land office work, and these hazards were shared more or less alike by surveying parties and local land officers. It was moreover well-nigh impossible at certain times in the year to maintain satisfactory connections with the general land office at Washington. The requirement that made imperative the deposit of government money derived from land sales within a specified time after the accumulated funds had reached a certain level often worked a serious hardship; for it was the size of the fund in the receiver's hands, and not the state of the weather or the season of the year, that determined the time for these trips. And it need hardly be added that a journey in 1857 from the mouth of the St. Croix River to Lake Superior was no "joy ride."

Because the early land officers did undergo great vicissitudes, their otherwise routine reports contain much fascinating information for the student of history. Registers and receivers were constantly meeting dangers at the hands of marauding Indians and other thieves, and disastrous fires wrought havoc on several occasions. Valuable records and moneys were stored in such nondescript safes as could be transported to the isolated offices. Contested land cases must frequently be settled without sufficient legal references at hand. When attempts to steal timber were made, the land officer often was forced to deal with the emergency almost single-handed. Thus the land office service in its protective and conserving features resembled in several ways that of the military branch of the government, especially when the latter functioned at lonely military outposts on the frontier. There was, however, this difference: the land officer had not the comfort of numbers in his misery.

Although the work was difficult and exacting and the general public often was unappreciative, these facts do not seem to have prevented many of Minnesota's distinguished pioneers from seeking and obtaining land office positions, ranging from those of deputy surveyor and local register and receiver, to that of surveyor-general and even, in one case, to commissioner of the general land office. One need only recall that George B. Sargent and George R. Stuntz, well-known characters among the early builders of the Arrowhead, were long associated with the federal land service. To these may be added the names of several Minnesota governors, including William R. Marshall, Stephen Miller, and Horace Austin; a lieutenant governor, William Holcombe; and Congressional leaders such as William W. Phelps, James Shields, and William D. Washburn — all at one time or another in the land service.¹⁷ In the hands of such intrepid frontiersmen the operation of the federal land policy was bound to reach a certain degree of efficiency and dignity, despite the grave difficulties that were constantly arising.

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¹⁷ Shields was commissioner of the general land office during part of Polk's administration.



MINNESOTA PIONEER LIFE AS REFLECTED IN THE PRESS

An excellent picture of the frontier of the fifties is provided by the Minnesota territorial editors, who, between 1849 and 1858, observed and recorded the moving life of the upper Mississippi Valley. In the faded numbers of their papers appears news that was as momentous in the precarious days when Minnesota was a territory as it is interesting today. These papers are rich in accounts of travel, adventure, expansion, and festivity. From such sources, therefore, can be drawn a picture of a period, less than a decade in length, during which Minnesota marched steadily toward statehood and higher social levels.

Territorial Minnesota was no dull outpost of civilization. Its pioneer life was full of adventure and uncertainty. Would the food supply last till spring? Would the mail come through safely? Could boats cross the sandbar? Who would the new immigrants be? Were the war-painted Sioux about to attack the Chippewa? These and many other significant questions were answered in the brief, editorial style that characterized the columns of local news in territorial papers. In editorials and news articles editors reflected the pioneer life about them — its struggles, successes, and pleasures.

James M. Goodhue, the first Minnesota editor, who founded the *Minnesota Pioneer* in 1849, understood St. Paul, so like other new settlements. He wrote:

In one particular, our town excels any other of its size we ever knew; and that is, in excitement. . . . This is the charm, that attaches so many to our town. It is exactly that thing of which all your little old towns of the east and south are destitute. No person can live for a year, in the excitement of our town, and afterward be content with the quiet method, dullness, stillness and stupidity of another place. Our blood is red.¹

¹ *Minnesota Pioneer* (St. Paul), June 10, 1852.

If events did not happen, they were made. National holidays and civic festivals were great occasions. One of the first celebrations in the territory was arranged in St. Paul for July 4, 1849, when settlers from St. Anthony, Stillwater, and Mendota joined with those in the capital city. Bells were rung at sunrise. Cannon boomed at Fort Snelling. The Fort Snelling band played the popular "Washington March" and "Farewell Waltz." A parade formed in front of the St. Paul House and moved on to a near-by grove, where Governor Alexander Ramsey, Henry H. Sibley, Henry M. Rice, and Judge Bradley B. Meeker spoke on the significance of the occasion and the future of Minnesota. Later in the day, when two hundred guests sat at dinner in the American House, toasts were drunk to Minnesota in swaddling clothes, destined like Borealis to be the light of the confederacy; to the great West, the granary of the world; to St. Paul, St. Anthony, and Stillwater, the glorious three; and to the plow, the axe, the hammer, and the press.²

One of the biggest news events of the nine-year territorial period occurred in June, 1854, when the Rock Island Railroad excursion visited Minnesota. This was the editor's great chance for favorable publicity and promotion, and he made the most of it. In the group of eastern men and women, numbering a thousand, who accompanied the excursion, were ex-President Fillmore; college presidents; historians; authors; thirty-five newspaper men, including Charles A. Dana, then on the *New York Tribune* staff, and Samuel Bowles of the *Springfield Republican*; George Bancroft, the historian; railroad men; engineers; geologists; mineralogists; artists; divines; poets; merchants; and persons of fashion. Where but a few years earlier the Chippewa and Sioux had scalped one another and uttered war whoops before the dwellings of the settlers, the "fair daughters and gallant sons of Minnesota" now welcomed their distinguished guests, served them with delicious foods, entertained them at a reception and ball, and escorted them

² *Minnesota Register* (St. Paul), July 14, 1849.

overland to the Falls of St. Anthony. The band played the lovely "Prima Donna Waltz"; the halls of the Capitol were decorated and the windows brilliantly lighted for the occasion. While felicitations were exchanged, Fillmore suggested St. Paul as a "summer place of fashionable resort" and complimented the ladies present. Bancroft described the Mississippi country as "incomparable in scenery and promise." When finally the excursion boat started on its return trip down the Mississippi, it was with regret, yet pride, that Minnesotans watched it disappear around the bend.³

For those settlers who were not satisfied with the adventures that entered into the normal course of pioneer life, there was additional opportunity for excitement. It was offered in part by such steamboats as the "Galena," "Nominee," "War Eagle," "Greek Slave," "Minnesota Belle," and "Golden Era," which plied up and down the Mississippi between ambitious little river towns and raced with competitors. Exploring parties, headed by dragoons and assisted by French-Canadians and half-breeds, rode westward, examined unknown country, hunted, and dined around camp fires on roast skunk, ducks, prairie hens, and wild geese. The less adventurous in order to find excitement had only to go to the levee, where perhaps the thirty immigrants who had slept on the cabin floor of a steamboat the night before had landed. Without roofs over their heads, they boiled potatoes, bathed the babies, and rejoiced that they would soon be among old friends in the territory.⁴

The desire for adventure often was smothered by ambition. New settlements radiated a spirit of industry. Each village had its sawmill. Larger settlements had their breweries, general stores, oyster saloons, hostelrys, livery stables, daguerreotypists, professional men, and skilled workmen. When the firm of Rollins, Eastman, and Upton built a flour mill at St. Anthony in 1854, a local editor interpreted the event as the

³ *Pioneer*, June 9, 10, 1854.

⁴ *Pioneer*, June 10, 1852.

"commencement of the development of our immense water power." ⁵ Other editors condemned unscrupulous lumbermen who built dams that flooded bottom lands and destroyed Indian rice fields and other property. "On the Mississippi and along its banks, within the next ten years," a St. Paul editor prophesied in 1854, "is to be fought the great closing contest between steam on water, and steam on land." ⁶ Perhaps he had read the May 20, 1854, issue of the *St. Anthony Express*, which announced the first railroad to be built in Minnesota, an engine and car that were to run up and down an eight-hundred-foot track built on Nicollet Island.

Progress could be measured and felt. The editor of the *St. Paul Daily Times* knew this when he wrote in 1854:

Enclose St. Paul, indeed! Fence in a prairie fire! Dam up Niagara! Bail out Lake Superior! Tame a wolf! Civilize Indians! Attempt any other practical thing; but not to set metes and bounds to the progress of St. Paul!

Stagecoaches carried travelers between principal towns. Rivalry between the Patterson and Benson line of yellow coaches and the Willoughby and Powers line of red coaches resulted in fifty cent rates and trips to and from St. Paul and St. Anthony by each company both in the morning and in the afternoon. At least one St. Paul editor took time to praise the horses used on the St. Paul-St. Anthony route. He declared them to be "none of your lank, spavined, ring-boned, foundered, half-hipped, wheezing, hoof-bound, knock-kneed, gambrel-legged, sore-headed, shadowy animals, that look as if they had just come limping out of the Apocalypse — the progeny of the Pale horse described in Revelations, which 'Death and Hell followed after.' " ⁷ Twice a year or so, the squeak and

⁵ *St. Anthony Express*, October 21, 1854.

⁶ *Pioneer*, July 26, 1854.

⁷ *St. Paul Daily Times*, May 22, 1854.

⁸ *Pioneer*, March 25, 1852. The subject of the competition of stage-coach companies is touched upon by Arthur J. Larsen in an article on "Roads and Trails in the Minnesota Triangle," *ante*, 11: 405-407.

rumble of carts loaded with buffalo robes and other valuable furs from the Red River settlements beyond the Canadian boundary and from Pembina meant good business to St. Paul and St. Anthony merchants.

Streams of immigrants poured into Minnesota Territory in the fifties. In July, 1855, a report from La Crosse told that forty immigrant trains passed through the town every day, and one from Galena estimated that a thousand people headed toward Minnesota had traveled through that town each day. Editors boasted that the amount of preempted land in Minnesota exceeded that of all other states and territories. Yet the land business flourished. "What the 'crack mare' is to the Vermonter," a St. Paul editor wrote, "the Town lot or quarter Section is to us, as to all settlers in a new country. Land is our whole stock in trade."⁹ Whatever the business, competition was strong. Vendors of ice, bread, meat, and milk exemplified it when they made faces at one another on the streets of St. Anthony and St. Paul.

Money was scarce, often worthless, especially so in the late fifties. Farmers were fortunate to collect twenty-five cents a bushel for potatoes, forty cents for corn and oats, and fifty cents for wheat. Business men suffered with the others. In the midst of such hard times editors did much to protect settlers from "wild cat" money and to strengthen their faith in the future of Minnesota by reiterating the conviction that "To an industrious careful contented man, a crash never comes."¹⁰

Of the evils of pioneer days, drinking seems to have been considered the worst. Temperance societies fought it. Lecturers competed with the corner saloon for patronage. Religious and other organizations passed resolutions against it. Young ladies' institutes took action. For example, members of one group in Illinois adopted the following resolution, which was printed in a St. Anthony paper:

⁹ *Saint Paul Financial & Real Estate Advertiser*, February 16, 1855.

¹⁰ *Chatfield Democrat*, October 21, 1857.

Resolved, that, we young ladies . . . pledge ourselves not to keep company, or join in the sacred bonds of matrimony with any young gentleman who is not in favor of the Maine liquor law, or some other prohibitory law.¹¹

That Gideon H. Pond, editor of the *Dakota Friend* and counselor of the Indians, knew their weakness for drink is shown by the following quotation from his paper:

Twelve years ago they bade fair to die, all together, in one drunken jumble. They must be drunk—they could hardly live if they were not drunk—Many of them seemed as uneasy when sober, as a fish does when on land. At some of the villages they were drunk months together. There was no end to it. They *would* have whiskey. They would give guns, blankets, pork, lard, flour, corn, coffee, sugar, horses, furs, traps, any thing for whiskey. It was made to drink—it was good—it was wakan. They drank it,—they bit off each other's noses,—broke each other's ribs and heads, they knifed each other. They killed one another with guns, knives, hatchets, clubs, fire-brands; they fell into the fire and water and were burned to death, or drowned; they froze to death, and committed suicide so frequently, that for a time, the death of an Indian in some of the ways mentioned was but little thought of by themselves or others.¹²

Goodhue doubted the possibility of enforcing a liquor law. He wrote:

If we could see the law against gambling enforced in our town, for one month, we should have more faith in the liquor law. Gambling is openly and notoriously carried on, in various public places in St. Paul—and our friends, who are urging the passage of a law, quite as difficult to enforce, *know it, they see it every day*; but not a man of them all, moves to the work of prosecuting gamblers.¹³

In addition to curbing drinking and gambling, the new communities were compelled to provide for starving Indians, to prevent fights between Chippewa and Sioux, to guard against the spread of cholera, to stop brawls and rowdiness, to protect

¹¹ *Express*, June 9, 1855.

¹² *Dakota Tawaxitku Kin or the Dakota Friend* (St. Paul), September, 1851.

¹³ *Pioneer*, February 19, 1852.

settlers against prairie and forest fires — in short, to be ready for any emergency.

With the growth in settlements, church spires increased, and the newspapers soon included notes on religious activities. St. Paul editors told of the church that was built for the Reverend Edward D. Neill in August, 1849, of the Methodist Episcopal church built of brick in December of the same year, of the first Unitarian church meetings in the hall of the Sons of Temperance, and of the beginnings of the Baptist and Protestant Episcopal churches; and they also recounted early Minnesota church history, telling of the work of the Presbyterian church at Fort Snelling in 1834, its board of elders, — Colonel Gustavus Loomis, Captain Edmund A. Ogden, and the Honorable Henry H. Sibley, — and its pastor, the Reverend Thomas S. Williamson, who served the Lord's Supper for the first time in one of the company rooms at the fort.¹⁴ There were interesting episodes in the growth of the Roman Catholic church, which had organized a congregation and built a chapel in St. Paul when it was the resort of the French *voyageur*.

Pioneer ministers were often compelled to preach without pay. In June, 1852, the "only organ in town" was one that a "German girl carries about strapped on her back, like a papoose."¹⁵ Lectures were popular. The Reverend T. K. Cressey announced that he would give three or four lectures at the Presbyterian church in St. Paul on the "Divine institution of the Sabbath — tracing it from Eden, through the Patriarchal and Mosaic to the Christian dispensation," and giving reasons for changing from the seventh to the first day. On another occasion in 1852 "The largest public assembly ever convened in Minnesota within a building" was made up of hundreds of westerners squeezed into the aisles, pews, and gallery of Neill's church in St. Paul to hear Gregory M. Wortabet of Beirut, Syria. At St. Anthony a Young Men's Association was or-

¹⁴ *Minnesota Democrat* (St. Paul), December 10, 1850.

¹⁵ *Pioneer*, June 3, July 15, 1852.

ganized which had for its objects the "development of the mind" and the "mutual enjoyment" of its members.¹⁶

Details of church socials were described in the columns of pioneer papers. They were a popular means of raising money for a new bell, the pastor's salary, or for payment on the church debt. One such social was held with great success in 1852 on the decks of a steamboat, the "Greek Slave," anchored in St. Paul. The ladies of the local Baptist church filled a seventy-foot table in the men's cabin with "meats and confections." A pyramid cake in the center of the table was worth twenty dollars. The ladies' cabin was filled with "fancy articles." And woe to the bachelor who ventured into that room! The proceeds from the sale amounted to between three and four hundred dollars. Joseph R. Brown, editor of the *Pioneer*, was there, and the following week he wrote:

Many little scenes of gallantry and repartee, occurred at the sales, but which like lightning-bugs, lose too much of their charm when caught; therefore, we shall let them fly.¹⁷

Because education was a less urgent need than others, the building of schools was often delayed. Larger settlements, however, soon had their private academies and public schools. Excelsior boasted a college. No liquor or gambling was allowed about the premises and students had an opportunity to study special courses in language, physiology, and music. The schools advertised their high moral tone, discipline, and new standards of education. St. Paul had its Episcopal day school. St. Anthony had a young ladies' high school, and the public was invited to attend its rhetorical exercises and examinations. St. Peter provided for its first school by assessing a tax of one hundred dollars upon the property of the school district, and by appropriating fifteen dollars for books.¹⁸ The regents of

¹⁶ *Pioneer*, September 9, October 7, 1852; *Falls Evening News* (St. Anthony and Minneapolis), October 16, 1857.

¹⁷ *Pioneer*, December 30, 1852.

¹⁸ *Falls Evening News*, October 2, 20, 1857; *Pioneer*, May 6, 1852; *St. Peter Courier*, November 20, 1855.

the University of Minnesota met in the St. Charles Hotel, a two-story frame building in St. Anthony, on May 31, 1851, to arrange for a site and to start a preparatory department for that school. Hamline University at Red Wing had more than seventy-five students of both sexes, who paid \$4.00 a term for the primary course, \$5.33 for the junior, \$6.00 for the middle, and \$6.66 for the senior. Students could obtain board and room for \$2.50 a week, and the student who wished to be economical could board himself for \$1.25 a week. All the wood used by students was furnished at cost.¹⁹

The educational problems of the period often caused intense feeling in a community. In St. Paul, a correspondent of the *Pioneer* was outspoken in his convictions:

We are told that the way to elevate schools, is to pay high wages to teachers. Now it occurs to me, that paying a blockhead \$50 or \$60 a month, say \$600 per annum, the salary of the principal of a high classical Academy in other parts of the country, to teach a common district school in Minnesota, may elevate *teachers* and not *schools*.²⁰

In July, 1852, a month before Goodhue died, he called attention of St. Paul parents to a village problem of a similar type:

. . . There is a free school, at the lower landing in St. Paul, where your children can be taught all the peccadilloes and vices, from lying and profane swearing, up to the higher calendar of crimes. . . . They will soon be beautiful graduates, every one of them with a diploma from the Devil.

In the same issue he spoke of the lack of proper facilities for education:²¹

There is not a building in all St. Paul, fit to be called a District school house. The only building known as such, is hardly fit for a horse stable. — There was another miserable substitute for a school house . . . sold the other day, to satisfy a mortgage of less than \$200.00. All this in an opulent town, swarming with chil-

¹⁹ *Express*, May 31, 1851; *Red Wing Sentinel*, February 9, 1856.

²⁰ *Pioneer*, April 1, 1852.

²¹ *Pioneer*, July 29, 1852.

dren, little untaught brats, swarming about the streets and along the levee in utter idleness, like wharf rats. All this in a town too, that boasts of half a dozen steepled churches.

A Winona editor, writing in 1857, heaped shame on his city for its lack of schools and regretted that with a population of four thousand inhabitants and a large number of children Winona was destitute of schools.²²

The new settlements had their young men's associations, debating clubs, dramatic societies, and lyceums, which provided both recreation and education. During the winter months, these societies could choose their speakers from a long list of capable men in the territory. In this list were the Reverend Edward D. Neill, Henry H. Sibley, James W. Taylor, Alexander Ramsey, Joseph A. Wheelock, Samuel Beaman, the Reverend Charles G. Ames, the Reverend A. D. Williams, the Reverend David B. Knickerbacker, Judge Bradley B. Meeker, Isaac Atwater, and the Reverend Charles Secombe.

Despite the institutions working for good and elevating listeners, whispers and gossip were an insidious evil in the settlements. Sometimes editors used sentimental editorials as a weapon in their fight against such talk:

. . . The foul tongue of slander, the idle boast of the silly braggart, or the vain jest of the thoughtless inebriate, will cast a blur upon her name which will plunge her in endless grief and sorrow: perhaps, breaking her heart, lead her to an early and untimely grave, about which no kindly hand shall plant a flower.²³

Editors with an eye for the sensational clipped items that carried conversational possibilities from eastern newspapers. Jenny Lind and her philanthropies were rarely overlooked. P. T. Barnum was reported to have said that he would give more for a drunkard who had succeeded in business as a public curiosity than for anything he had ever owned, not excepting the woolly horse, the mermaid, or Tom Thumb. An international telegraph was planned. New inventions were startling.

²² *Winona Argus*, April 30, 1857.

²³ *Minnesota Democrat*, January 14, 1851.

New York boasted a six-story building that housed a hundred and forty-four families. Milwaukee had reached a population of twenty thousand; Detroit, twenty-one thousand; Cleveland, seventeen thousand; Chicago, twenty-eight thousand. St. Paul was destined to be the metropolis of the West; Pittsburgh would never be anything but a small town.

When spring arrived, settlers turned to the out-of-doors for pleasure. Boys flew kites and played marbles. Men fished. Women knew that summer time was picnic time. While belles rustled laces and satins in admirable profusion at Saratoga, Newport, Sharon, and Cape May, fancy-free daughters of pioneers with their pretty faces hidden in mammoth sunbonnets spread damask napkins and took picnic lunches from wicker baskets on the banks of the Mississippi, on the shores of Minnesota lakes, and at the Falls of St. Anthony. Minnesota weather contributed to the success of such outings. A St. Paul editor must have experienced a beautiful day when he wrote:

This is an Indian-Summer day, of a perfect cast. A gossamer haze hangs like a fringe over the river, and soft Sunbeams mingle with the stream, like the parting kiss of lovers.²⁴

Winter was the season of balls and gaiety. These were often described by the pioneer editor:

One of the most delightful assemblies of the season, took place at the house of G. R. TUCKER, Esq., on Friday evening last. More lovely women, or fairer maidens, we may challenge the Territory to produce.

We were forced to quit the merry scene at an early hour, but we left the joyous group chasseeing to the inspiring strains of LEONARD's excellent band.²⁵

A New Year's ball was announced in Winona in 1855:

NEW YEAR'S BALL AT THE ST. CHARLES HOTEL. — J. & J. H. EASTON will give a grand Ball on New Year's night at their new hotel at St. Charles. There will be a splendid chance for you,

²⁴ *Pioneer*, October 7, 1852.

²⁵ *Winona Republican*, December 18, 1855.

gay gallants of Winona, to give your sweethearts a delightful sleighride, and a merry dance.²⁶

In St. Paul, Mazourka Hall was a popular place for parties. Churches often gave entertainments. Hard-time balls were held at the St. Charles Hotel in St. Anthony. Pilgrim dinners were special events. Occasionally, the élite of St. Peter, Traverse des Sioux, and Nicollet County gave joint cotillions. Anniversaries and national holidays were not overlooked as appropriate times for such celebrations:

NEW YEAR'S CALLS. — Several beautiful young ladies — God bless 'em — of our town, have requested us to say that the good old Eastern fashion, of receiving the calls of gentlemen on New Year's day, will be observed by them, and we appreciate their resolution, satisfied that the gentlemen "will be too happy," &c.²⁷

Although editors recorded such happenings, their society items were usually brief. A news story written about a meeting of the New England Society of Minneapolis by a local editor in December, 1857, is one of this type:

The first Anniversary of the "New England Society of the Northwest" was celebrated with a Festival, on Tuesday Evening the 22nd inst., at the Cataract Hotel, Minneapolis. Extensive arrangements had been made for the occasion, and so much interest was manifested, that, at an early hour, the streets of our city were noisy with the din of carriages, and when we arrived, at 7 o'clock, a brilliant throng of 200 or 300 had already congregated in the spacious halls and parlors of the Cataract.²⁸

Homes and hotels were often the scenes of entertainment. Some of these places were elegant. The home of Dr. Alfred E. Ames, built in Grecian style in 1857 and situated on sloping ground overlooking "Minneapolis, upper and lower St. Anthony, the Falls, etc." was among the finest. It had "beauty and symmetry" both "within and without" and "none of the awkward and ponderous massiveness that hangs around the old castles of the Rhine." The house, which consisted of a

²⁶ *Winona Republican*, December 25, 1855.

²⁷ *Winona Republican*, December 25, 1855.

²⁸ *Falls Evening News*, December 24, 1857.

main body and wings to the north, west, and south, contained thirty rooms, among which were a hall ten by eighteen feet, a library fifteen by eighteen, a parlor eighteen by twenty-one, a family room and a dining room each twelve by eighteen, and a kitchen thirteen by twenty. It had "costly mantles of marbleized iron," ornamented ceilings, complete piping for the introduction of gas, a "beautiful slab of clouded granite" in front of the doors, and a "spacious veranda supported by fluted columns."²⁹ In 1856 St. Paul boasted an excellent hotel in the Fuller House, with its "magnificent saloon," steam heat, home-manufactured gas, and office overlooking the entrances, parlors, reception room, washroom, porter's room, and dining room. The Winslow House, built in St. Anthony a year later, was a "magnificent" hotel, containing the "most capacious and beautiful" ball room in the West outside of Chicago. Its dining room, eighty-six by thirty-eight feet, seated five hundred people at thirty-two tables. Its ball room, with twenty-foot ceiling, platform, and ninety by forty-foot dimensions, contained chandeliers that cost \$670. The ladies' parlor contained four mirrors costing \$150 apiece. The furnishings alone were reported to have cost \$45,000.³⁰

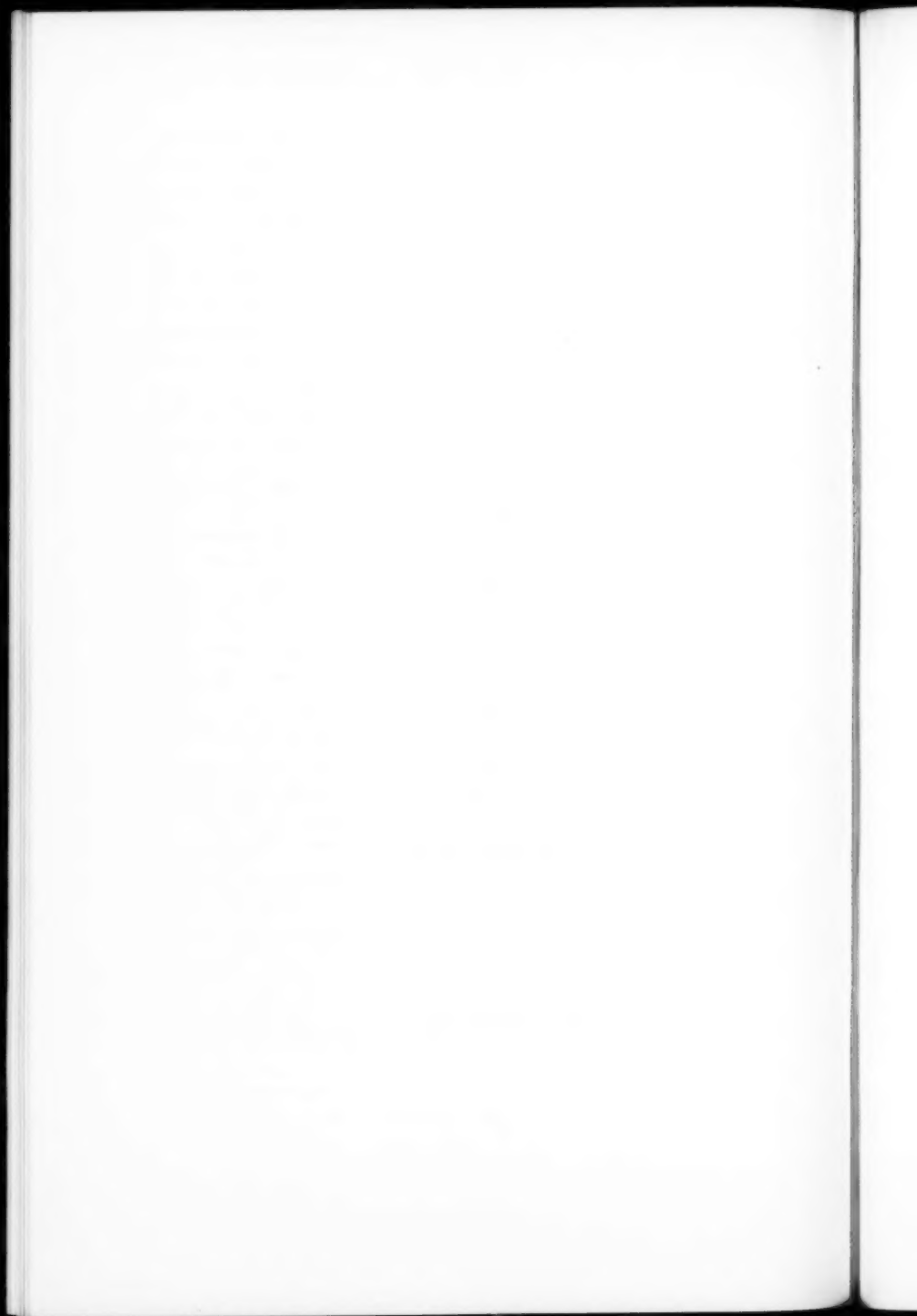
Despite such examples of extravagance, any picture of Minnesota in the fifties must portray a society that was young and simple in its pleasures. Western frontier standards governed. It was the day of the steamboat, the immigrant, the bonnet and the shawl, and the plow, axe, hammer, and gun. It was a time when the crash of tall pines resounded in settlements and rough buildings grew into towns.

RICHARD B. EIDE

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RIVER FALLS, WISCONSIN

²⁹ *Falls Evening News*, October 2, 1857.

³⁰ *Weekly Pioneer and Democrat*, July 17, 1856; *Falls Evening News*, October 3, 1857.



NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

MORE ABOUT "A NEW YORKER IN THE GREAT WEST"

Readers of this magazine will doubtless recall a narrative that appeared in the March issue in the section devoted to "Minnesota as Seen by Travelers" under the heading "A New Yorker in the Great West" (*ante*, 43-64). This was a reprint of part of a booklet entitled *My Diary: or Three Weeks on the Wing. A Peep at the Great West*, written by one C. N. Brainerd of New York City during a pleasure jaunt to Minnesota in 1867 and published in the following year. Seldom has a contribution to the magazine aroused so much interest as did this narrative of travel into southern Minnesota. This doubtless was partly due to the rarity of the pamphlet from which the account was reprinted; last March members of the staff of the Minnesota Historical Society knew of only one copy, — that in the Library of Congress, — and from this copy a photostat had been made for the society. Furthermore, almost nothing was known about Brainerd, and the identity of the friend whose Martin County farm he visited was likewise unknown.

Since last March, however, not only has much been learned of Brainerd's life and of his Minnesota friend, but several copies of his *Diary* have been located. The March issue of the magazine had scarcely had time to reach members of the society when the following communication was received from Mr. Edward C. Gale of Minneapolis:

You may be interested to know that I have recently acquired Brainerd's *My Diary*, which you republished in interesting fashion in the March number of MINNESOTA HISTORY. I obtained it from Newhall of New York City just prior to the issuance of the magazine and without knowing anything about your forthcoming article — quite a coincidence.

Shortly thereafter the society's librarian found the *Diary* listed in the catalogue of a Chicago dealer, and this copy was promptly purchased for the society's library. Thus two of these rare booklets are now to be found in Twin City collections.

The portion of Brainerd's *Diary* that relates to Martin County naturally aroused considerable interest among readers living in that section. One question in particular intrigued them: who was the resident of Pleasant Prairie Township described by Brainerd as "an old and valued friend who had emigrated from 'York,' and whom I shall call Z—— for convenience"? With the hope of finding an answer to this question, Judge Julius E. Haycraft of Fairmont, president of the Martin County Historical Society, visited the state society's library in St. Paul. His search led to an examination of the manuscript schedules of the census of Martin County for 1870. The only Z—— found listed there was J. T. Ziegler, a native of Pennsylvania who had settled on a farm in Pleasant Prairie Township.

It might never have been proved conclusively that Ziegler was the Z—— of Brainerd's narrative, had not Miss Gracie Brainerd Krum, librarian of the Burton Historical Collection of Detroit, read the extracts from the New Yorker's diary in the March issue of the magazine. In a letter to the Minnesota Historical Society, written on July 8, Miss Krum offers the interesting information that "Chauncey Niles Brainerd was my maternal grandfather," and she presents the following statement about his printed *Diary*:

The remainder of the edition of the diary which Grandfather had printed describing his first visit to the great west (and I think his only trip to Minnesota) was in our attic for many years, till about five years ago when moving from the house which he bought here in Detroit, I disposed of it . . . to the Smith Book Company of Cincinnati.

With her letter Miss Krum sent an informing sketch of Brainerd, in which she includes some material about his

Minnesota friend, "John T. Ziegler, a native of Manayunk, Pennsylvania." Since readers of Brainerd's narrative would undoubtedly be interested in an account of the life and career of this enthusiastic traveler who spent *Three Weeks on the Wing* in the West in 1867, portions of Miss Krum's sketch are herewith presented.

B. L. H.

CHAUNCEY NILES BRAINERD

Chauncey Niles Brainerd was born in Haddam, Connecticut, of pioneer and revolutionary stock. . . . His father, William Chauncey, with others of the family was in the quarry business. He married Ruth House, daughter of Jeremiah House of East Hampton and Glastonbury, Connecticut. On January 14, 1826, their eldest child, Chauncey Niles Brainerd, was born.

He received only such limited instruction as was offered by the district school. His father needed him, so he had to lay aside all thought of college and possible success as a lawyer. While he was still a youth his father moved to Saugerties on the Hudson, where other members of the family had stone quarries. From there William Chauncey with his second son, George Martin, took the first load of bluestone to New York City and vainly tried to sell it. Later, "the sidewalks of New York" were practically all of bluestone. George afterwards became president of the Bodwell Granite Company at Rockland, Maine.

Chauncey Niles married on December 24, 1845, at Esopus, New York, Rhoda Maynard Beaver. . . . Mrs. Brainerd's share in her father's estate was a small farm in the hill country of Esopus, and she and her husband removed thither some time before August 14, 1851, with their first-born child, Charles Edwin. . . . Their second child, Ethalind, was born at the farm. Some time after her birth, probably about 1855, they removed to Williamsburg, Long Island, where Chauncey's cousin, Silas, was a member of the firm of Lamy and Brainerd, stone merchants. A little later Chauncey and his brother George went into the stone business at Portland, Maine, but the outbreak of the Civil

War ruined their prospects, and in 1863 Chauncey went to New York and became a clerk in the executive office of the New York Institution for the Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb, located on Washington Heights. He was made assistant steward, probably about the time of his western trip. In 1875 he was given the office of steward, which he held for fifteen years, and he was appointed superintendent in 1890. In 1893 he resigned, having served the institution for thirty years. . . . Brainerd occupied his new leisure in compiling a brief genealogy of his wife's family, which was privately printed. Mrs. Brainerd died on July 9, 1896.

In 1897 Brainerd removed with the family of his daughter, Mrs. Alburn H. Krum, to Detroit, Michigan, where he lived until his death on June 26, 1913. Every year, however, he made two trips, one westward to see old friends in Illinois and Wisconsin, the other eastward to various places in New York, Massachusetts, and Connecticut. "Those old people will miss me if I don't go," he said, when, past eighty, it was felt that he should not undertake such a pilgrimage alone. But go he would and did, and it kept him young. Through the years, especially those latter years, he kept up a lively correspondence with a wide circle that reached to the Pacific coast, whither some of the children of old Wisconsin friends had migrated. He was a life-long member of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Soon after removing to Detroit, he joined the Detroit chapter of the Sons of the American Revolution.

Brainerd was a tall, fine-looking man of unusually attractive personality. Following the fashion of his young manhood he wore a rather long, full beard. His hair was dark brown, and he became very bald. His eyes were a lovely mild blue. He was the kindest, most gentle of men, though he could be stern enough, if necessary, and the fact that he administered successfully for so many years the feeding, housing, and general affairs of the huge family at the institution is sufficient evidence of his perfect honesty and fair dealing. He was well read on current business and political topics, loved music, and was passionately fond of roses, having gardens at both his New York and Detroit homes.

The friend Z— whom Brainerd visited in Minnesota was

John T. Ziegler, a native of Manayunk, Pennsylvania, who lived for a while in New York, and who married on April 24, 1856, Cornelia Ann Southworth, a cousin of Mrs. Brainerd. Ziegler took up land in Minnesota, but after some years of western life he returned to New York and was for a time in charge of a farm owned by the New York Institution for the Deaf and Dumb at Tarrytown-on-the-Hudson. . . . Ziegler had two children, Chauncey J., born on July 31, 1867, and Nettie, who was born in Minnesota on October 20, 1869.¹

GRACIE BRAINERD KRUM

BURTON HISTORICAL COLLECTION

DETROIT

¹ According to the manuscript schedules of the Martin County census for 1870, both of Ziegler's children were born in Minnesota. Chauncey's age is given as three years and Nettie's as seven months. *Ed.*

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

La Louisiane: histoire de son nom et de ses frontières successives (1681-1819) (La société des Américanistes de Paris, Publications). By BARON MARC DE VILLIERS. (Paris, Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1929. 74 p. Maps.)

Since Minnesota was so long a part of Louisiana, a study of what the latter term has connoted at various times has a distinct value for Minnesota history. Accordingly the appearance of the Baron de Villiers' *La Louisiane* is worth noting. It is a careful examination of the term and its application by a person well acquainted with the sources. He concludes that Abbé Bernou, one of La Salle's closest friends and Cardinal D'Estrées' secretary, was responsible for the first printed use of the term. The writer goes into Bernou's relations with La Salle and with Hennepin in an attempt to prove that Bernou used Hennepin's knowledge of America as a means of furthering his own plans for La Salle. This fact, to the author's mind, explains Hennepin's so-called plagiarisms in the *Description de la Louisiane* (Paris, 1683); for Bernou and his accomplices handed Hennepin La Salle's map and other documents, with which he was to produce for them a narrative of La Salle's exploration. Hennepin took them, so it is alleged, and then wrote the story as he judged best. Whereupon Bernou substituted two hundred pages of his own *Relation des découvertes et des voyages du sieur de la Salle*, based on La Salle's own papers, and allowed the Recollet friar to write as he would only the last part of the volume. The author concludes: "The last hundred pages of the *Description de la Louisiane* permit one to judge very well of the fantastic and personal manner in which Father Hennepin, left to himself, would have related the first year of his trip to America." The author then discusses the boundaries of Louisiana from 1682 to 1819, utilizing for the purpose several interesting old maps, which he redraws in simplified fashion for his brochure. One of these, that used by Hennepin in his *Nouvelle Découverte*, is of special

interest to Minnesotans. The Baron de Villiers shows how Hennepin used the work of others to produce in a volume dedicated to an English king, William III, a map that should prove that Louisiana belonged to the English! It is interesting to note that the author has used several recent American studies of the penetration of the English from Virginia and the Carolinas toward the Mississippi in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

GRACE LEE NUTE

The Populist Revolt: A History of the Farmers' Alliance and the People's Party. By JOHN D. HICKS, professor of American history and dean of the college of arts and sciences, University of Nebraska. (Minneapolis, The University of Minnesota Press, 1931. xiii, 473 p. Illustrations, maps. \$4.00.)

To describe the rise, achievements, and decline of the People's party, and to do it "with complete good nature," has been the objective of Professor Hicks in this volume. He began his research in the field with a doctoral dissertation at the University of Wisconsin, and he continued it while he taught at Hamline University, the North Carolina College for Women, and the University of Nebraska. Promotion to the deanship of the college of arts and sciences of the latter institution did not prevent the completion of the investigation. Progress has been marked from time to time by the publication of articles on the subject in MINNESOTA HISTORY, the *North Carolina Historical Review*, and the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*.

One phase of the Populist movement took place in the farming states of the "Middle Border," where fertile soil for the planting of agrarian discontent was offered by the economic maladjustments accompanying the settlement of the last frontier, the building of its railways, and the difficulties experienced in adapting agriculture to the semiarid region. Another phase was found in the South, where the crop-lien system worked injustice upon the small land-owners and tenant farmers already sufficiently perplexed by the task of rebuilding after the Civil War. Having described these fundamental conditions, the author sets forth the grievances

which the agriculturists of both sections thought they endured at the hands of the railways, the grain-dealers, the bankers, the trusts, the merchants, and the politicians. To correct these wrongs there arose a number of organizations, the more important of which were the Northwestern Farmers' Alliance and the Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union, or Southern Alliance. Their rise and growth, the reform agitations they sponsored, and their social, educational, coöperative, and political activities reveal their purposes. The Southern Alliance undertook the promotion of the "subtreasury plan," and in the western states the movement centered in the political revolts of 1890. Both sections joined in the formation of the National People's party two years later. In the West the Populists fused with the Democrats, in the South they coöperated with the Republicans, but only in the former did the party approximate success. The third phase of the movement, or its corruption, was marked by the rise of the silver issue, which received the strongest support in the mining states. The narrative reaches its climax in the account of the nomination of Bryan by Populists and Democrats and the silver crusade of 1896. Decline followed quickly. A final chapter portrays the survivals of Populism in more liberal economic and political practices.

The story, with its numerous fascinating characters, is an interesting one, and but few imperfections have been found. The omission in the footnotes of the dates of periodicals and of the dates of publication of books makes it necessary for the reader to look through a long and classified bibliography in order to ascertain whether or not the authority cited was published contemporaneously with the event described. The work was intentionally limited to the political aspects of Populism and its economic background, and it does not include significant social and intellectual developments. A clearer statement might have been given of the influence of the movement in forcing the retirement of the Bourbons from the control of the southern Democratic party. Is it not a little misleading to refer (p. 316-318) to the "genuine" or "old-fashioned" Populist as believing that fiat money was the essence of his creed when political activity originated over railroad abuses rather than over monetary doctrines? Perhaps

greater emphasis might have been placed upon the importance of railroad practices to western Populism. The northwestern farmers fought the Civil War to save the public domain from slavery only to find that much of it had been acquired by the railroads. These corporations were engaged in exploiting the farmers who had expected to find independence and comfort in owning some of the land. Much of the history of this group of people from 1865 to 1914 is involved in its attempt to prevent such exploitation. The panic of 1893, the rise of the silver issue, and fusion in the election of 1896 have tended to obscure the relations of western Populism to this larger movement.

Among the commendable characteristics of the work are the author's clear, lively, and stimulating style, his intimate but not too friendly attitude, and the splendid proof reading and printing. The general reader will find the volume easy to read. The scholar will consider it a thoroughly adequate treatment of the political movement. Its comprehensive, classified, and critical bibliography is an excellent summary of the literature that has been written about the various aspects of Populism. The book is a valuable contribution to the political and agrarian history of the nation since the Civil War, and it is particularly significant to the people of the Mississippi Valley.

JOHN D. BARNHART

The Background of Swedish Immigration, 1840-1930 (University of Chicago, *Social Service Monographs*, no. 15). By FLORENCE EDITH JANSON, PH.D., professor of government in Rockford College. (Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1931. xi, 517 p. Maps, charts. \$5.00.)

This book with attractive binding and pleasing format proves to be a disappointment. The author set herself to a task that needed to be performed; but the book is so disfigured by errors and inaccuracies that it cannot be said to have been accomplished. According to the preface, Miss Janson has attempted to explain the economic, social, religious, and political background of emigration from Sweden. With the progress of her research "it became evident that the causes have changed from time to time," and it was deemed feasible to present an historical account of

the movement from decade to decade. The book is packed with details explaining how individuals in the various strata of society were drawn into the rushing stream of emigration. It is most unfortunate that in a book containing illuminating and valuable discussions of several topics, errors and inaccuracies should pile up page after page and be of a character to mislead the reader and impair the value of the book. Knowing the difficulty of standardizing the titles of Swedish books and the problems connected with the spelling of Swedish proper and place names, the reviewer is disposed to deal charitably with certain irregularities and inconsistencies in the footnotes and even in the text; but errors that cast a haze of suspicion over the entire book are serious enough to warrant some attention even in a review as brief as considerations of space compel this one to be.

The chapter on "The Dissenters of Sweden" is strewn with misstatements, among which the following may be noted: The Mission Covenant was established in 1878, not in 1876 (p. 167). F. O. Nilsson was not banished in 1851 (p. 197); the correct date, 1850, is given on page 177. Eric Janson was shot in 1850, not in 1851 (p. 183). *Hemlandet* was established in 1855, not in 1854 (p. 187). Unonius founded his colony in 1841, not in 1840 (p. 187). Esbjörn was not compelled by the American Home Missionary Society to change his doctrine and ritual (p. 188). The Swedish Lutherans did not join the Synod of Northern Illinois in 1855 (p. 189). Wiberg returned to the United States in 1863, not in 1864 (p. 198). The present location of the Methodist theological seminary is Gothenburg, not Uppsala (p. 206). Sanngren was not ordained by the Synod of Northern Illinois (p. 209). Laymen have never been refused representation in the Augustana Synod (p. 209). The Swedish Evangelical Free Church was incorporated in 1908, not in 1896 (p. 212). Skogsbergh started his school in Minneapolis in 1884, not in 1891 (p. 213).

Here are a few of the misspellings in the volume: "Tuve Nils Hasselquist" (p. 187) and "T. R. Hasselquist" (p. 152) for Tuve Nilsson Hasselquist; "Erland Carlson" (p. 133, 148) for Carlsson; "Svenson" (p. 118), "Svensson" (p. 134), and "Swenson" (p. 308) for S. M. Swenson; "E. W. Schroeder"

(p. 177, 196) for G. W. Schroeder or Schröder; "Sellengren" (p. 170) for Sellergren; "Jonas Ahlberg" (p. 171) for A. P. Ahlberg; "Bockman" (p. 120) for Böckman; "Falk" (p. 132) for Flack; "Shogan" (p. 204) for Shogren; "Kingsbury" (p. 205) for Kingsley; "Andréen" (p. 190) for Andrén; "Viberg" (p. 197, 198) for Wiberg; "Rosénius" for Rosenius, throughout; "Växsjö" (p. 99), "Wexjö" (p. 138), and "Vexjö" (p. 190) for Våxjö; and "Wiström" (p. 133) and "Wiström" (p. 136, 137) for the same land agent.

Miss Janson properly devotes several paragraphs to the Unonius party; but if she had read material on the early years of Swedish immigration published two years ago and if she had carefully read Unonius' *Minnen*, which is incorrectly cited, she would not have failed to mention citations to the Unonius letters nor would she have overlooked the Friman settlement, which antedates that of Unonius. Likewise if Miss Janson had examined material published more than two years ago, she would not have stated that Peter Cassel emigrated in 1842, that he was a miller, and that there were thirty in his party. Neither would she have asserted dogmatically that there was "no religious dissatisfaction nor political unrest in Kinda hundred" (p. 128).

Miss Janson's generalizations with reference to the press in Sweden are based on a superficial examination of the newspapers (p. 124, 125, 252). It is also disconcerting to find only two Swedish-American papers, *Hemlandet* for 1863 to 1865, and the *Minnesota Stats Tidning* for 1877 to 1879, listed in the bibliography. There are no less than two score emigrant guides preserved in the Royal Library in Stockholm, but only three are listed in the bibliography; and the name of the author of one is spelled incorrectly and there are errors in the titles of two.

It may seem unkind, not to say brutal, to deal with a book as this review does; but when evidence of slipshod work appears from the first chapter to the index, when misreadings of several sources of information and faulty translations have been detected, when serious errors and omissions appear in the bibliography, and when important topics are slighted or omitted—then in the interest of scholarship a reviewer dares not shirk his duty. The field is still open for someone to write a sound and convincing

study of the background of Swedish immigration. When the manuscript is ready, it is to be hoped that the author will find a publisher who will furnish competent editorial assistance.

GEORGE M. STEPHENSON

Ioway to Iowa: The Genesis of a Corn and Bible Commonwealth.

By IRVING BERDINE RICHMAN. (Iowa City, The State Historical Society of Iowa, 1931. 479 p. Illustrations. \$4.00.)

Dr. Richman in a long career has made important contributions to the recorded history of three states, Rhode Island, California, and Iowa. The interpretation of regions and backgrounds so different is surely an unusual achievement. Of the three, the author should be at his best with Iowa for, despite his many interests, Muscatine has always been his home and place of business.

This is not a history of the usual kind. Instead of conventional narrative, there is a series of impressionistic sketches. The work is evidently intended for the average reader, though the historian will find in it much to profit by, especially in the elaborate "Comment and Citation" section following the main text. As the word "genesis" in the subtitle implies, the period of beginnings is emphasized and the author follows only a few themes beyond the Civil War. The book is elaborately divided into sections, chapters, and further subdivisions. Each minor division is long enough only to tell a short story, describe an event, present a picture, or create a mood, and the chapter is built up by a succession of related minor divisions. Those situations, scenes, and facts have been chosen that contribute to a certain effect. Though the effect may be authentic, the reader is always conscious that much that is important and interesting has been omitted. There is something to be said in favor of a continuous narrative as against one that jerkily directs the reader's attention from subject to subject. Affectations in style are annoying in places, but they seem less noticeable as one progresses.

Some chapters are very much better than others, particularly those on "Spain in Ioway," "Red to White," "The White Tide," "The Red Barrier Falls," and "The Bible"; and that on "The Prairie" is a masterpiece which shows the author's style of treatment at its best. The strength of this style seems to lie

in description rather than in narrative. In reading the chapters mentioned, one is especially impressed by the aptness of the quotations that make up much of the text. They illustrate a wide acquaintance with the source literature, particularly for the period of settlement. Good use of the newspapers has been made for this period. The index is thorough and the format is in every way satisfactory.

OLIVER W. HOLMES

The Changing Educational World, 1905-1930: Papers Read on Occasion of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the College of Education, University of Minnesota. Edited by ALVIN C. EURICH. (Minneapolis, The University of Minnesota Press, 1931. xii, 311 p. \$3.00.)

In 1930 the college of education of the University of Minnesota celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary. Local, national, and international speakers delivered addresses in honor of the occasion. Dr. Eurich has collected the papers and arranged them under five headings: "Education and the New World," "The University School of Education," "Educational Trends," "Educational Pioneering in Minnesota," and "The College of Education at the University of Minnesota." By this plan the editor has achieved a unity which the papers, indiscriminately arranged, would not even have indicated. Typographically, the volume measures up to the high standard established by the University of Minnesota Press.

The phenomenal growth in the educational world palsies the hand of the mere chronicler. Not only the significance of that growth but even the events connected with it are beyond his grasp. Educational leaders must supply the facts and at least tentative interpretations. The trebling and quadrupling of attendance in high schools and colleges, the development of a science of educational research, the increase in buildings and equipment, and the rise of teacher training requirements are only a few specific instances of meteor-like changes which include every aspect of education. Most of these changes have occurred since the founding of the college of education at the University of Minnesota, and practically all of them have taken place since 1890.

Since the old prejudice against writing contemporary history has been exploded, it is proper and necessary that a record and an interpretation of such developments should be made. It is also eminently fitting that some of the leaders in these changes should participate in compiling the record.

From the historical viewpoint the contents of this volume may be divided into two parts. The first includes those addresses which deal with national developments, trends, and problems. The second part contains those which bear specifically upon the development or present status of education in Minnesota. Some of the contributors to each part and the nature of their contributions deserve mention.

William J. Cooper, Stuart Chase, and Paul Dengler of Vienna deal with the new problems which the economic crisis has placed upon educational leaders. Dr. M. Gordon Neale, and Professors Charles H. Judd and William C. Bagley discuss the functions of colleges of education and indicate their obligation to train the rank and file, to develop a science of education, and to provide educational leaders. Dr. Lotus D. Coffman reviews some research projects at the University of Minnesota and indicates how they will help in coordinating the work of the high school and the college. Professors George D. Strayer and Fred Engelhardt discuss the work of professionally trained school executives, and Professor Harl R. Douglass analyzes the trends in high school organization and outlines the types of research in secondary education.

The second part contains several papers which throw light upon the history of education in Minnesota. Professor Fletcher H. Swift discusses the professionalization of educational workers and gives credit to the college of education, to teachers' colleges, to outstanding leaders, and to the state department of education. President Livingston C. Lord of the Eastern Illinois State Teachers College draws some vivid pictures of his experiences in Minnesota schools during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Mr. George B. Aiton gives a realistic view of the early struggles to establish high schools. Professor W. E. Peik gives a brief review of the growth of elementary schools. Miss Jean H. Alexander presents a chronological table of the history of educa-

tion in Minnesota from 1823 to 1929. In addition to the introduction, Dr. Melvin E. Haggerty presents two papers, which consist of a clear analysis of the organization of the University of Minnesota college of education and an appeal for the highest type of coöperation from the alumni. Dr. Victor H. Noll presents several illuminating graphs which show the growth of the college, and Dr. Engelhardt reviews the efforts that it has made to train school administrators. Finally, the editor has contributed a list of the persons who have received doctor's degrees in education at Minnesota and a bibliography of their contributions.

The political historian can afford perhaps to ignore this volume; the economic historian will derive only incidental assistance from its perusal; but the historian who surveys the cultural and intellectual aspects of Minnesota's past cannot afford to overlook it. In addition to its specific contents, it bears testimony to the national as well as the local importance of the institution whose anniversary it records. It gives Minnesotans ample justification for congratulating themselves upon their foresight in founding and their willingness to support the college of education.

EDGAR B. WESLEY

Following the Prairie Frontier. By SETH K. HUMPHREY.
(Minneapolis, The University of Minnesota Press, 1931.
265 p. Illustrations. \$2.50.)

There seems to be no end to the historical literature pertinent to the settlement of the West. A perusal of the majority of catalogues of Americana will reveal that most of the choice items listed are those which treat of western explorations and travels and the problems and difficulties of pioneer life. And each year the "frontier bibliography" is substantially enlarged. Mr. Humphrey, in writing this volume, has not only added another item to this rapidly growing bibliography, but also has produced a document of vital importance depicting the Middle Northwest—Minnesota, Dakota, and western Nebraska—"during its first forty years as white man's country."

Following the Prairie Frontier begins with accounts of the trek of David Humphrey, the father of Seth, from Connecticut to Minnesota Territory in 1855 and of his staking of a claim to

a fertile strip of land in the vicinity of the rising village of Fari-bault. In the first six chapters of the volume the author tells in considerable detail of David's journey west and describes frontier life in Minnesota during the fifties, sixties, and seventies. Chapters 7 to 15 inclusive are descriptive of prairie pioneering in Dakota and Nebraska during the next two decades, and the last five chapters have to do with the "Messiah Craze,"—that tragic episode in the long history of the dispossession of the Indians,—the Sioux outbreaks, the Nez Percé War, and the opening up of the Cherokee Strip.

Mr. Humphrey's ability to tell a story well is evidenced throughout the narrative. The interest of the reader never lags; and no one can read any of the anecdotal tales recounted without being cognizant that the author has first-hand knowledge of what he is talking about. His versatility in the use of typical frontier experiences is remarkable. The prairie frontier is made a definite, dramatic, picturesque, and dynamic region.

To the historian the most valuable portions of *Following the Prairie Frontier* are perhaps those in which Mr. Humphrey tells of experiences as land inspector and confidential agent for a Boston farm-mortgage company in Dakota and western Nebraska during the decade of the eighties. Materials about the activities of investment companies in the West are extremely meager; hence these records of personal experiences and business contracts with prairie farmers are of more than ordinary interest. The chapters dealing with the Sioux outbreaks, the Nez Percé War, the "Messiah Craze," and the opening up of the Cherokee Strip, although brilliantly written, add little to previous knowledge of these subjects.

That Mr. Humphrey has succeeded in making an interesting and valuable contribution to the field of western Americana can scarcely be doubted.

JOHN PERRY PRITCHETT

101 Best Stories of Minnesota. By MERLE POTTER. (Minneapolis, 1931. xvii, 301 p. Illustrations. \$1.50.)

Mr. Potter's book is a unique and welcome contribution to Minnesota historiography. Here are collected 101 native Minne-

sota anecdotes from every corner of the state and from almost every period of its history. Thrown together in haphazard fashion, with no attempt at chronological order, they have the effect of random comment on the various aspects of the local scene.

These narratives may be classed as the trivia of Minnesota history; footnotes to the more sober record of the state's development; sidelights on eminent men, interesting events, and interesting people. The potpourri contains such ingredients as accounts of how Joe Rolette saved the capital site for St. Paul during a five-day poker game; of "Pig's Eye" Parrant, pioneer liquor law violator; of Michael Dowling, "Minnesota's Gamest Man"; of Anna Robinson, the Minneapolis chambermaid who became a king's favorite; of the flour-mill explosion of 1878; of Dan Patch, the race horse; of the Kensington rune stone; and of the "petrified" man of Bloomer. The social historian should find much to interest him in these tag ends. Taken *in toto*, they should prove helpful aids to the reconstruction of Minnesota civilization, particularly during the nineteenth century's latter half, which was the period of frontier transition in this region. For such a purpose no anecdote can be condemned as too frivolous for preservation, not even that about the Dassel-Hutchinson ball game of 1887.

It may be a far cry from nineteenth-century Minnesota to seventeenth-century England, yet the reviewer finds in the literature of the earlier period a handy illustration of the value of historical trivia. It is Thomas Fuller's *Worthies of England*, that magnificent miscellany about the English counties. While the modern reader marvels at this strange *mélange* of biography, local history, traditionary anecdote, popular antiquities, provincial wonders, and gossip, he realizes that Fuller has preserved much information that would otherwise have been lost. Mr. Potter seems to have done a similar service.

A significant point about the stories is their newspaper origin, for they first appeared in serial form in the *Minneapolis Journal*. The present-day Minnesota press functions as a medium for local history work to an encouraging degree. A few years ago the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* published a similar series called "Gopher Trails," and many other papers throughout the state have given

space to like material. There is no doubt that this journalistic practice has contributed to the growing understanding and appreciation of Minnesota's past. The brief, brisk style in which the stories are told can be accredited to their newspaper origin. Two or three pages suffice for each narrative.

The book has been doubly insured against inaccuracies. While the stories were in newspaper form many errors of statement were called to the attention of the paper by readers who had first-hand knowledge of the facts. During the process of going into book form the stories were carefully reedited. Thus, in current radio parlance, the facts have been "checked and double-checked."

The volume is an excellent job of book-making, and it is generously illustrated with old photographs and reproductions of newspaper cartoons. Since the American Legion Auxiliary is credited with the book's publication, all Minnesota history lovers owe that organization a debt of gratitude. Former Governor Van Sant's introductory note puts a well-known pioneer's stamp of approval upon the entire work.

ROY W. SWANSON

North Shore Place Names. By WILLIAM E. CULKIN, executive-president, St. Louis County Historical Society. (St. Paul, Scott-Mitchell Publishing Company, 1931. xi, 93 p. Illustrations, maps. \$.75.)

"One who understands the origin of the place names of any region knows its history." With this assertion as his thesis, Mr. Culkin interprets the principal place names along the Minnesota shore of Lake Superior from Fond du Lac, the "bottom" or end of the lake, to the international boundary, and recounts briefly the history of points of interest. He has not included all the North Shore names, but most of those omitted are purely descriptive appellations, such as Sugar Loaf Point and Horseshoe Bay, the meaning and origin of which are self-evident. Why he says nothing of Hovland, Mount Josephine, and Wauswaugoning Bay is not so clear.

In the spelling and translation of Indian names, he follows Joseph A. Gilfillan, the missionary, but he discards the latter's *Shab-on-im-i-kan-i-sibi*, "the place of gooseberries river," for

the theory that the name of the Gooseberry River is a translation of *groseille*, a corruption of Groseilliers. That some North Shore stream once bore the name of Radisson's brother-in-law and comrade is certain, but whether it was the present Gooseberry, fourteen miles beyond Two Harbors, or the Pigeon is an open question. The transposition of the letters *a* and *r* in Chouart, the family name of Groseilliers, is one of the few noticeable typographical errors in the booklet.

When Mr. Culkin says that "the Northwest Company continued in practical possession at Grand Portage until about 1817 when they moved beyond the Pigeon River to Fort William on Thunder Bay," he gives the impression that Grand Portage was the headquarters of the company until that date. This is doubtless a mere matter of ambiguity of language. His real meaning must be that the Northwest Company, when it removed its headquarters to Fort William, between 1801 and 1804, did not at once sever all relations with Grand Portage, but maintained a local post there for some years.

In interpreting these North Shore place names, gathering together these bits of history, and presenting them in such pleasing form, the president of the St. Louis County Historical Society has done a real service to the Minnesotan interested in the past of his own state, as well as to the sight-seer of inquiring mind who motors over Highway No. 1 from Duluth to the Pigeon River. The booklet, well illustrated with photographs of North Shore beauty spots, is attractive in appearance and convenient in size.

ETHEL C. BRILL

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

The eighty-third annual meeting of the society will be held in St. Paul on January 11, opening with a luncheon and continuing with afternoon and evening sessions.

A talk on "The Historical Significance of the Bishop Whipple Papers" was given by Dr. Grace Lee Nute, the curator of manuscripts, at a stated meeting of the society's executive council held in the superintendent's office on the evening of October 12, with the president, Dr. Guy Stanton Ford, presiding. The Honorable Charles E. Adams of Duluth was elected as a member of the council to fill the place made vacant by the death of Jed L. Washburn of Duluth.

Mr. Donald E. Van Koughnet, a graduate of the University of Minnesota who also holds the degree of master of arts from that institution and has taken advanced graduate work at Harvard University, has been appointed to a position on the society's staff as research and general assistant. He took up his work on September 1.

Sixteen additions were made to the active membership of the society during the quarter ending September 30. The names of the new members, grouped by counties, follow:

BECKER: Robert C. Bell of Detroit Lakes.

FREEBORN: Dr. Joseph W. Gamble of Albert Lea.

HENNEPIN: C. Alfred Bergsten, Allyn K. Ford, Esther Jerabek, Ben W. Palmer, and Carlton C. Qualey, all of Minneapolis.

ITASCA: Hugo V. Zaiser of Grand Rapids.

RAMSEY: Clyde A. Bucklin, Charles H. Carpender, and Donald E. Van Koughnet, all of St. Paul.

RICE: Maude G. Stewart of Northfield.

ST. LOUIS: Ernest B. Dunning of Duluth.

STEARNS: Mary E. Evans of St. Cloud.

TODD: Otis B. De Laurier of Long Prairie.

WADENA: Wendell C. Larson of Sebeka.

The Jackson County Historical Society has become an annual institutional member of the society.

The society lost seven active members by death during the three months ending September 30: George B. Knowlton of Rochester, July 19; Alvah M. Olin of Minneapolis, July 28; Edward E. Smith of Minneapolis, July 29; Twiford E. Hughes of Minneapolis, August 3; Roscoe P. Ward of Waseca, August 15; Jed L. Washburn of Duluth, August 27; and John L. Smith of Minneapolis, September 23.

Considerable progress has been made recently in the preparation of an inventory of the personal collections of manuscripts belonging to the society. This enterprise, which is being supervised by the curator of manuscripts, was forwarded during the summer by Mr. Robert Bahmer, a graduate student in the University of Minnesota.

During the summer months the Historical Building was given a much needed cleaning and redecorating.

The number of readers who used the society's collections during the summer months was unusually large, reaching a total of 1,145 in the main library, 378 in the newspaper division, and 109 in the manuscript division. They came to St. Paul from sixteen states other than Minnesota, as well as from numerous places within the latter state.

The society was represented at the 1931 state fair by two exhibits, which were viewed by more than fifty thousand people. The society's regular exhibit, installed in the building devoted to state departments, depicted stages in the development of roads and of transportation in Minnesota. A special exhibit, showing changes in women's costumes during the past century, was installed in the Woman's Building.

The diaries of Frank B. Mayer, the artist who attended the treaty negotiations at Traverse des Sioux in 1851, are being edited by Miss Bertha L. Heilbron, the assistant editor of the magazine. The society has photostatic reproductions of the original diaries, which are in the Ayer collection of the Newberry Library in

Chicago. The volume will be illustrated by reproductions of sketches made by Mayer during his western travels.

Mr. Babcock attended a meeting of the Plains Conference on Archeology from August 31 to September 2 at Vermillion, South Dakota, and on September 1 he addressed the gathering on "Problems of Minnesota Archeology."

Mr. Blegen gave a talk on the "Historical Backgrounds of the Northwest" on August 6 before the Citizens' Military Training Camp at Fort Snelling; and on August 13 he gave an illustrated lecture at the University of Minnesota on "Minnesota in the Fifties." Mr. Babcock spoke on July 31 at Elk River in connection with the Sherburne County Diamond Jubilee, taking as his subject "Vignettes of Minnesota"; and on September 6 at Minnehaha Park he addressed a group of residents and former residents of Lac qui Parle County on the correlation of that county's history with the larger story of Minnesota.

The appointment as national park historian of Mr. Verne E. Chatelain, who served as acting assistant superintendent of the society in 1928-29, has been announced by the United States National Park Service. It will be Mr. Chatelain's work "to co-ordinate and extend historical work in all national monuments and parks." Through its historian, the park service "expects to extend its research program with a view of furnishing dependable historical information to the millions of park visitors."

ACCESSIONS

Materials relating to the activities of the American Fur Company in the upper Mississippi Valley and to the career of Henry H. Sibley are included among the business papers, covering the years from 1823 to 1903, of Hercules L. Dousman, a prominent trader of Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, and his son, Hercules L. Dousman, Jr., presented by the latter's daughter, Mrs. Edward B. Young of St. Paul. The collection includes material on local railroads; the St. Paul Gas Light Company; the Prairie du Chien, Hudson and St. Paul Packet Company; the North Western Union Packet Company, and "Winnebago debts 1841." It is made up

of a filing-box of letters and other papers, six letter-press books, and more than seventy account books, time books, and check books.

Information on a hitherto practically unknown chapter in the annals of northern Minnesota and the Canadian border country is contained in the papers of James Evans, the organizer of the Wesleyan missions in this region. Some of these papers have been lent to the society for copying by Mr. Fred Landon, the librarian of the University of Western Ontario at London, Ontario. They relate to the missions established by Evans on Lake Superior, at Fort William, and on Rainy Lake, and to the work of his subordinates at these posts and others. The period is that of the early forties.

Some papers of Dr. William H. Leonard of Minneapolis, including attendance cards from the medical schools of New York and Yale universities from 1850 to 1853, and commissions dated between 1875 and 1894 appointing him to membership on the Minnesota state board of health and on a committee to investigate conditions in the Minnesota state hospitals for the insane, are the gift of his son, Dr. William E. Leonard of Hadley, Massachusetts. Dr. Leonard also has presented a biographical sketch of his father that he prepared.

Copies of "The Casket" for December 7 and 21, 1855, and January 4, 1856, and "The Schoolmate" for February 11, 1859, have been added by Miss Callie M. Kerlinger of Berkeley, California, to the society's collection of manuscript periodicals composed by students at the Hazelwood mission (see *ante*, 11:94, 205).

Mr. Orrin F. Smith has written and presented to the society a brief sketch of the life of John Chamberlin Laird, pioneer lumber merchant in Winona, telling of his experience with claim-jumpers during the settlement of Wabasha Prairie, now Winona. Laird's account of an earlier trip west in search of land is published *ante*, p. 158-168.

The record book of the Old Settlers' Association of Minnesota, containing minutes of meetings from 1858 to 1917, a list of

members with the dates of their arrival in Minnesota, and obituaries of deceased members, has been presented by the association's secretary, Dr. Warren Upham of St. Paul.

Commissions, muster rolls, and other items relating to the Civil War, from the papers of Captain Mahlon Black of the Second Company of Minnesota Sharpshooters, have been received from the estate of Miss Lena Black of Minneapolis.

A copy of a diary kept by Albert J. Dickson during a journey made in search of land through southern Minnesota and across northern Iowa to Nebraska in 1871 has been lent to the society for copying by his son, Mr. Arthur J. Dickson of Dayton, Wyoming.

An address delivered by the Reverend Stephen R. Riggs on the first anniversary of the death of Joseph R. Brown, November 9, 1871, has been presented by Brown's grandson, Mr. George G. Allanson of Wheaton. In it the missionary describes his relations with Brown when the latter was a fur-trader at Lake Traverse and the Indian agent at Yellow Medicine.

The autobiography of John P. Liesenfeld, a German pioneer who settled in Brown County, has been lent for copying by his son, Mr. Jacob Liesenfeld of Comfrey. It contains an account, in the German language, of the author's life and military service in Germany and of his immigration, a record of storms in southern Minnesota from 1873 to 1893, and a table of crops that he raised between 1868 and 1893.

Forty-two volumes and fifteen filing boxes of the business records of lumber companies operating in Aitkin, Crow Wing, and Cass counties, and of the Aitkin Investment Company, covering the years from 1873 to 1909, have been received from the papers of Fred W. Bonness through the courtesy of Dr. and Mrs. William Allen Caine of Stillwater.

Letters written by Twin City lawyers in 1895 recommending the appointment of Mr. Henry B. Wenzell of Stillwater as supreme court reporter; programs, invitations, and secretary's reports relating to the activities of the Harvard Club of Minnesota between 1884 and 1907; and correspondence covering the years

from 1907 to 1915 about the renting of billboard privileges on property in the business section of St. Paul belonging to Mrs. William H. Crane are among the papers recently presented by Mr. Wenzell.

A diary kept by Lieutenant Olaf H. Rask of the Fifteenth Minnesota Volunteer Infantry from September 15 to October 22, 1898, is the gift of Mr. Sam A. Rask of Blooming Prairie. The diarist describes a trip from Fort Snelling to Camp Meade, Pennsylvania, the routine of camp life, and a visit to the battle field at Gettysburg.

A mass of Folwell family correspondence, filling thirteen filing-boxes, has been turned over to the society by Miss Mary H. Folwell of Minneapolis.

A collection of autograph letters of such well-known Americans as Robert Morris, Carl Schurz, William T. Sherman, John Jacob Astor, Frances E. Willard, and Abraham Lincoln, dating from 1786 to 1901, has been added to the papers of Bishop Henry B. Whipple by his son, General Charles Whipple of Los Angeles (see *ante*, p. 317).

A paper on "Judge and Mrs. Henry Hale" by Mrs. Charles N. Akers of St. Paul, read at the formal opening of the Hale Memorial or Hamline Branch Library on October 4, 1930, and at the dedication of the Henry Hale Memorial or Merriam Park Branch Library on November 20, 1930, is the gift of the author.

Memorials of Mrs. C. L. Atwood of St. Cloud and of Mrs. H. A. Tomlinson of St. Paul have been added to the papers of the Minnesota Federation of Women's Clubs (see *ante*, 11:97) through the courtesy of Mrs. Charles N. Akers of St. Paul.

The St. Paul chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution has added to its papers (see *ante*, p. 321) a copy of its charter, a sketch in colors of the World War monument erected in St. Paul in 1924, and three scrapbooks of material relating to its activities and those of the state organization.

Histories of the chapters of the Daughters of the American Revolution located in Minnesota are presented in a manuscript

volume, edited by Mrs. Henry B. Tillotson, which has been turned over to the society by the Minnesota Daughters of the American Revolution through the courtesy of Mrs. George W. Ekstrand of St. Paul. From the same source has come another volume, compiled by Mrs. Tillotson, dealing with the "History of the Geographic Names of the Counties of Minnesota, with Area, Population, and Location of D.A.R. Chapters."

The Minnesota department of the American Legion has presented the registration cards of its state conventions and those of its auxiliary held at Winona in 1929 and Crookston in 1930 and of the spring conference held at St. Paul in 1931 (see *ante*, 10:78).

Letters and petitions sent to Representatives Henry A. Johnson of Minneapolis and Martin P. Lager of Kittson County during the 1931 session of the state legislature, and numerous drafts of bills introduced during the session are the gift of Mr. Johnson.

Copies of master's theses on "The Settlement and Development of Rice County, Minnesota, to 1875" by Arthur J. Larsen, "The Development of a Northern Route to the Pacific" by Donald E. Read, and "The Advance and Recession of the Agricultural Frontier in Kansas, 1865-1900" by Hilda Smith have been received from the history department of the University of Minnesota. Term papers on "The Settlement of New Ulm" by Celina M. Pilger and on "The Farmers' Alliance in Norman County, Minnesota" by Harold Weatherhead, prepared in connection with a course in Minnesota history at the University of Minnesota, are the gifts of the authors.

A paper entitled "The Story of Clark's Grove" by Theophilus L. Haecker, read in connection with a conference for education in the South at Richmond, Virginia, in April, 1913, and an account of "The Coöperative Movement in the Minnesota Dairy Industry" by Frank E. Balmer, presented at the Clark's Grove session of the state historical convention on June 14, 1930, have been received through the courtesy of the superintendent.

An account of the old mission cemetery at Fond du Lac with sketches of some of the pioneers who are buried there, including

Eustache and Francis Roussain, has been presented by the author, Mrs. James D. Winter of St. Paul. Photographs of the cemetery illustrate the narrative.

Though printed at Lévis near Quebec, in 1917, a small brochure on the Bailly family has been acquired by the society only recently. It is entitled *La famille Bailly de Messein*, and is the work of that scholarly student of Canadian genealogy, Pierre-Georges Roy. The society's copy of this valuable work is the gift of Mr. Edward C. Bailly of New York City, whose grandfather was Alexis Bailly, a famous trader of early Mendota and Wabasha. The first Bailly de Messein, a native of Montreuil in Lorraine, reached the shores of New France about the year 1700. One of the sons of this Nicholas was Charles-François Bailly de Messein, who became the coadjutor bishop of Quebec. Through Michel, another of Nicholas's sons, the Bailly line was continued. Michel's second son, Honoré-Gratien-Joseph Bailly, was the progenitor of the American Baillys, among whom was the Minnesota family. This work may be supplemented by two pamphlets, described *ante*, 11:324, which continue the life history of Joseph and his family in Indiana, where M. Roy leaves him. Joseph was the father of Alexis, the Minnesota trader.

A file of the *Irish Standard*, a newspaper published at Minneapolis for the Irish population of Minnesota, covering the years from 1885 to 1915, has been presented by Mrs. J. D. O'Brien of Minneapolis, the widow of the former editor of the paper.

A copper Indian spade, or spud, found at Grand Marais has been received from Mr. C. O. Backlund of that community.

A pair of beaded moccasins, a small skin tobacco pouch, armlets decorated with beads and quills, and a war club are the gifts of Mrs. W. A. Frost of St. Paul.

Additions to the collection of articles illustrative of pioneer domestic life received during the past quarter include a wooden sugar pail brought from New England about 1858, a shell sugar scoop, and several tin muffin rings, from Mrs. J. Willis Jones of Minneapolis through the courtesy of Mrs. George P. Douglas;

a painted wooden salt pail and a wooden spice box used about 1860, from Dr. Solon J. Buck of Pittsburgh; and a copper cake form and a sewing bird, from Mrs. Mary Rink of St. Paul.

Two hand-woven blue and white coverlets made about 1820, hand-woven linen sheets, pillow-cases, and towels, paisley shawls, costumes, dress accessories, combs, fans, jewelry, and military equipment used between 1830 and 1903 are among the articles recently presented by Miss Mary H. Folwell of Minneapolis for the Folwell family.

A complete undress blue uniform, a haversack, a horn, a baton, and other articles used by Sergeant Frank Harris during the Spanish-American War, when he was a band leader in Company F, First Nebraska Volunteer Infantry, have been received from Mrs. Frank Harris and Miss Zella M. Harris of Inglewood, California. Other additions to the military collection include a heavy rifled percussion musket and a cavalry sabre, from Mrs. Thomas H. Dickson of St. Paul; a star from the flag carried by the First Minnesota at Gettysburg, from Mrs. J. E. Falls of Bowling Green, Ohio; and a sword carried in the battle of Waterloo, from Mr. Walter C. Nolting of St. Paul.

A DeLaval cream separator that was purchased by the late James J. Hill in 1883 for his farm at North Oaks is the gift of Mr. Louis W. Hill of St. Paul.

A double iron boom pin, a single iron boom pin, and some wooden wedges used in drawing rafting ropes taut, all of which were used in connection with lumbering activities, have been presented by Dr. James C. Ferguson of St. Paul. Mr. Roy Hennings of Minneapolis has given a large square of dry muskeg peat labeled "Paul Bunyan's plug of chewing tobacco."

An interesting and valuable collection of pictures recently presented to the society by Mr. William C. Edgar of Minneapolis is made up of sixty-one photographs of Lake Minnetonka steamboats. The pictures, which cover the period from the late seventies to the early years of the present century, were collected by Mr. Edgar's son, the late Randolph C. Edgar of Boston. Among the steamboats represented in the collection are the "May

Queen," the "Belle of Minnetonka," the "City of St. Louis," the "Hattie May," and many others that furnished transportation between the summer resorts on Lake Minnetonka before the day of the automobile. Some of the pictures were used to illustrate a history of steamboating on Lake Minnetonka, published by Randolph C. Edgar in 1926 under the title *A Record of Old Boats* (see *ante*, 8: 110). With the group of Minnetonka pictures presented by Mr. Edgar are a number of miscellaneous views, including some of Mississippi and Minnesota River boats.

Among the pictures recently received are copies of two paintings in the Brainerd High School showing Pike and his companions and the first store in Brainerd, from Mrs. J. J. Heald of Brainerd; several views of the Lake Gervais cyclone of 1890, from Mrs. R. K. Beecroft of St. Paul; a picture of the trading post at Pembina, from the Northwest Airways of St. Paul; and portraits of Charles W. Hackett of St. Paul, John S. Pardee of Duluth, and Archbishop Austin Dowling, from Mr. Fred H. Gates of St. Paul, Mrs. Pardee, and Miss Mary Theno of St. Paul.

The cancellation stamp of the post office at Cherry Grove, in Goodhue County, which was used from 1857 to 1903, when the post office was discontinued, is the gift of Mr. J. George M. Rynning of Ostrander.

NEWS AND COMMENT

In order to encourage the publication of local historical materials by weekly newspapers and to recognize substantial achievement in this field, the New York State Historical Association has recently instituted the practice of awarding a gold medal to the newspaper in the Empire State that publishes the best material of this type each year. The medal for 1930 was awarded to the *Waterville Times* in recognition of its publication of a "series of sixty articles written by former residents of Waterville, residing throughout the United States, giving their recollections of the community" and of other articles on near-by rural communities. The judges were Professor H. J. Carman of Columbia University, John H. Finley of the *New York Times*, and William F. Beazell, formerly of the *New York World*.

A manual entitled *Hints to Company Officers on Their Military Duties*, prepared by Captain Christopher C. Andrews of the Third Minnesota Volunteer Infantry while he was a prisoner of war in the South in 1862 and published in the following year, has been reprinted with an introduction by Thomas L. Sullivan of Boston (59 p.). Mr. Sullivan points out that "Capt. Andrews' little book seems to be one of the first, if not the first, of the books on military leadership published in the United States."

A dark picture of conditions among the Indians is drawn by Robert Gessner in a volume entitled *Massacre: A Survey of Today's American Indian* (New York, 1931. 418 p.). One of the few bright spots in the narrative occurs when the author describes the Indian boarding school at Pipestone, Minnesota, as "undoubtedly the best school in the Indian Service" (p. 191).

The location of the Sioux-Chippewa boundary line in Wisconsin, as platted by a government surveyor in 1835, is described by William W. Bartlett in an article which is reprinted from the *Milwaukee Journal* in the *Dunn County News* of Menomonie, Wisconsin, for August 6. Mr. Bartlett has used the surveyor's field notes in the archives of the war department, as well as

contemporary correspondence relating to the surveying of the line, in the preparation of his article.

Conditions among the Indians living on the Menominee reservation in Wisconsin are pictured in a novel by Phebe J. Nichols, entitled *Sunrise of the Menominees* (Boston, 1930. 349 p.).

A popular biography of *La Salle* by L. V. Jacks (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1931. 282 p.) contains the following inaccurate statement (p. 127) about the party that La Salle sent to the upper Mississippi from his Illinois fort in 1680: "Father Louis Hennepin, and two woods-rangers, Antoine Augeul and Michael Accau . . . started westward, with La Salle's instructions, on a journey of exploration to the upper Mississippi, the Falls of Minnehaha, and the Sioux Indians of whom many alarming stories were told. In the wild and desolate land of the Sioux Hennepin was destined to meet . . . Jean Duluth, and to have many incredible adventures in the company of that noted *coureur des bois*." There is no evidence that Hennepin ever saw Minnehaha Falls; his truly important discovery of the Falls of St. Anthony is not mentioned by Mr. Jacks; Du Lhut's first name was Daniel, not Jean; Hennepin may have had "many incredible adventures" in company with Du Lhut, but the reader of Hennepin's own narrative is left with the distinct impression that the friar's most interesting adventures preceded his meeting with Du Lhut.

"The urge that caused Columbus to cross the Atlantic in his caravels was not a whit different from the idea that possessed Verendrye" in his search for the sea of the West, writes Edmond L. DeLestry in an article entitled "How Pioneers Carved Way to Western Sea," published in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for September 13. After touching upon the explorations of La Vérendrye, Lewis and Clark, and Isaac I. Stevens, the writer outlines the activities of the successive chief engineers of the Northern Pacific Railroad under whose supervision that line was gradually extended and improved.

The demand for a "type of boat which would prove light enough to be taken on rollers over portages, strong enough to shoot the

rapids, seaworthy enough to cross such stormy waterways as Lake Winnipeg, and commodious enough to carry a cargo of eighty pieces . . . as well as a crew of eight voyageurs," resulted in the introduction of "The York Boat," according to an illustrated description of this craft which appears in the September issue of the *Beaver*.

For an essay on the "Influence of Epidemic Disease on Military Operations in the Western Hemisphere," Colonel George A. Skinner of Omaha has been awarded the Henry S. Wellcome gold medal and a cash prize of five hundred dollars. Colonel Skinner gathered some of the material for his essay, which includes a study of epidemics among the American Indians, during a visit to the library of the Minnesota Historical Society in July.

More than two hundred objects that were brought to Minnesota by Norwegian immigrants who settled in the state during its pioneer period were exhibited on August 30 at the tenth annual picnic of the Watson Community Club. This remarkable collection is owned by Mr. Ole N. Aamot of Watson.

A section on Minnesota is included in a volume by Carl J. Silfversten dealing with the *Finlandssvenskarna i Amerika: deras materiella och andliga strävanden* ("Swedish Finns in America: Their Material and Spiritual Achievements") recently published at Duluth (449 p.). Communities of Swedish Finns in Duluth, Eveleth, Virginia, Hibbing, Chisholm, Ely, Two Harbors, Cloquet, Minneapolis, Hopkins, and a number of rural localities are described. Accounts of some of the Lutheran congregations organized by these people in Minnesota also are included.

For Minnesota readers the most interesting article in the July issue of the *North Dakota Historical Quarterly* is Edgar B. Wesley's "Still Larger View of the So-called Yellowstone Expedition." The writer describes in some detail Calhoun's plans, formulated in 1818 and 1819, for the military occupation of the West, which he set forth in a document entitled "Expedition to the mouth of the Yellow Stone River." Since this document includes sections dealing with the "Missouri and Mississippi

expeditions," Mr. Wesley concludes that the "term Yellowstone Expedition was used in a broad, loose sense to include the whole military expansion into the Northwest." He presents the story of the founding of the fort at the mouth of the Minnesota River in 1819, later known as Fort Snelling, as a part of the larger story of that expansion. In the same number of the *Quarterly* is an article dealing with "The Winter of 1807-1808 at Pembina, North Dakota" by Howard E. Simpson, which is based on "Alexander Henry's 'Journal of the Weather'" kept at that post and now in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society. The writer compares Henry's temperature readings and his remarks on precipitation, wind, rivers, and the like with normal conditions at Pembina as indicated by statistics compiled by the United States weather bureau. "A Crisis in the History of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1694-1697" by William T. Morgan is the subject of a third article in the July issue. The April number of the *Quarterly* includes a study of "Catholic Missions and Missionaries among the Indians of Dakota" by Sister Mary Aquinas Norton, and a description of the "Red River Settlement in 1825" as presented in a letter written from the settlement by John Pritchard to Miles Macdonell. An introduction and notes for this document have been supplied by John P. Pritchett.

Two bronze historical markers were unveiled in connection with the dedication, on September 7, of a new airport and hangar of the Northwest Airways at Pembina. One, commemorating the "Red River Ox Cart," bears the following inscription:

Extensively used in freighting over the Red River trails between Fort Garry, the Pembina region and St. Paul from 1839 to 1869. The trail distance from Pembina to St. Paul was estimated at 448 miles; the trip took from 30 to 40 days.

Made entirely of wood and costing approximately \$15.00, these Red River Ox Carts were capable of carrying from 800 to 1000 pounds. A cart on regular freighting service traveled about a thousand miles every season and lasted several years.

Each cart drawn by a single ox, they moved in brigades of from 5 to 10 carts, each animal led by a rawhide strap tied to the cart ahead. One or two drivers to every brigade, the driver walked beside the cart. Each train usually comprised from 5 to 8 brigades

or from 75 to 100 carts;—sometimes as many as 150, and occasionally as many as 500 carts.

These large trains were primarily due to the seasonal flow of trade. Buffalo robes, tongues, pemican and furs were carried on the southbound trips and general supplies, merchandise, ammunition and Indian goods on the return trips. Each load was covered with a buffalo robe. The early mails between the Pembina region and St. Paul were also carried by Red River Ox Carts.

An international arrangement in 1857, whereby the Hudson Bay Company could send its furs through the United States via St. Paul, in bond, caused the ox cart traffic to grow rapidly. This traffic which brought the cart into greatest prominence also brought about its virtual disappearance, through the development of roads and stage coaches to carry the increasing business in the early 60's and railroad extension and steamboat operation in the early 70's.

The Red River Ox Cart, however, was in general use as a commercial vehicle from the early 40's to the late 60's—a period of approximately 30 years.

The second marker preserves the following record of the history of old Fort Pembina, which was located near the site of the new airport:

A military post, named Fort George H. Thomas, was established on the west bank of the Red River about a mile and a half south of its junction with the Pembina River, in latitude 48° 56' 46.3", on July 9, 1870. The name was changed to Fort Pembina on September 6, 1870.

The site, which was near that of the trading post established by Charles J. B. Chaboillez in 1797, was selected by Captains Lloyd Wheaton and A. A. Harbach of the Twentieth United States Infantry in May, 1870. With their companies, I and K, they were the first to occupy the post.

The land occupied by the Fort Pembina military reservation, which consisted of part of section 15 and sections 16, 17, and 18 of Township 163, R. 51 West, was turned over to the United States Department of the Interior on November 27, 1895, and was disposed of at a public sale on April 2, 1902.

The August issue of the *Palimpsest* should be of special interest to Minnesotans, for in this number William J. Petersen presents a biographical sketch of Stephen Watts Kearny and accounts of this intrepid frontier soldier's three expeditions in the Missouri

and upper Mississippi valleys. The expedition of 1820 from Council Bluff on the Missouri to the newly established post at the mouth of the Minnesota River then known as Camp Coldwater and that of 1835, which took Kearny into the Minnesota country for a second time, are described under the headings "Trailmaking on the Frontier" and "Across the Prairies of Iowa." An excellent map, showing the routes followed by Kearny, is included (p. 313).

"An attempt has been made to tell the story of Iowa as a colorful drama enacted upon the prairies and along the rivers of the Iowa country" by Bruce E. Mahan and Ruth A. Gallaher in a collection of *Stories of Iowa for Boys and Girls* (New York, 1929. 365 p.). According to the authors, their object in writing these tales was "to interest the boys and girls of Iowa in the history of their state." The stories are published under four main headings: "Discovery and Exploration," "The Indians," "Early Settlements and the Pioneers," and "Territory and State."

Much information about the *Frontier Guardian*, an early Iowa newspaper, is contained in Douglas C. McMurtrie's account of "The First Printing at Council Bluffs," which appears in the *Annals of Iowa* for July.

Mr. Douglas C. McMurtrie describes the early Wisconsin imprints in the library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin as "one of the most remarkable collections of the documents of a state that I ever expect to see" in the introduction to his recently published history of *Early Printing in Wisconsin* (Seattle, 1931. 220 p.). A general discussion of the printing produced in Wisconsin between 1833 and 1850 is followed by a list of the official publications of the territory and the state from 1836 to 1850; a "Gazetteer of Early Wisconsin Printing," in which the "points at which printing appeared in Wisconsin" prior to 1850 are arranged chronologically; a "Chronological Summary of Newspapers and Periodicals, 1833-1850," presenting information about changes in ownership, frequency of issue, and like details; a "Biographical Index" by Albert H. Allen, giving sketches of 203 "men who are known to have had some connection with the press

of Wisconsin" during the years covered by the volume; and a detailed and scholarly bibliography. Numerous title pages, broadsides, and even entire newspaper sheets are reproduced in the volume. Some mention should be made of the unusually handsome format of the book, which was designed by Mr. Frank McCaffrey of Seattle.

The *California Letters of Lucius Fairchild*, written from 1849 to 1855 while the future Wisconsin governor was one of the horde of gold-seekers on the Pacific coast, have been collected and published under the editorship of Dr. Joseph Schafer as volume 31 of the *Collections* of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin (Madison, 1931. 212 p.). Original sketches owned by the society, which probably were executed by Lieutenant Andrew J. Lindsay during an overland journey of 1849, illustrate the volume.

"The intimate story of Nebraska in the period of its white settlement can only be known through the personal narratives of the men and women who were part of those settlements," writes Addison E. Sheldon, superintendent of the Nebraska State Historical Society, in the "Foreword" to a volume by a Nebraska pioneer, Dr. Cass G. Barns, published under the title *The Sod House* (287 p.). In chapters dealing with such topics as "A Sod House Home," the climate, pioneer schools, "Ox Team Freighting," and "The Sod House Doctor," the writer presents an excellent picture of pioneer life on the Nebraska prairies in the eighties.

The years from Father Marquette to Henry Ford are spanned by R. Clyde Ford in a little volume of *Heroes and Hero Tales of Michigan* prepared for youthful readers (1930. 152 p.). Sketches of Alexander Henry and Lewis Cass are included.

The picturesque story of a "Pocahontas of Michigan," Madame Joseph La Framboise, who took up her husband's fur-trading activities after his death in 1809 and followed them with success, is related by Vivian L. Moore in the *Michigan History Magazine* for the winter of 1931.

In an unusually extensive local history, Leo C. Lillie deals with the past of *Historic Grand Haven and Ottawa County*, Michigan

(1931. 394 p.). The volume is especially to be commended for the remarkable illustrations — reproductions of drawings, paintings, old prints, manuscripts, photographs, and maps — that adorn its pages.

Minnesota's last territorial governor, Samuel Medary, figures prominently in a study of *Party Politics in Ohio, 1840-1850*, by Edgar A. Holt, which has been published as volume 1 of the *Ohio Historical Collections* (Columbus, 1930. 449 p.). Dr. Holt describes Medary as the "most colorful and consistent Jackson Democrat of Ohio in the 'forties." Some references to James W. Taylor, who later became identified with Minnesota, also are to be found in the volume.

An interesting local history project worked out by the Delaware County [Pennsylvania] Historical Society has resulted in the publication of a pamphlet entitled *Historical Landmarks with Map of Chester* (24 p.). It includes a map of the county and of its largest community, Chester, on which are located sites of historic interest and historic markers and monuments. The significance of each is described in the accompanying text.

An article on "James Buchanan, the Squire from Lancaster" is contributed by Philip G. Auchampaugh of the Duluth State Teachers College to the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* for October.

Readers of the portrayal of "Minnesota Pioneer Life as Revealed in Newspaper Advertisements," published in *MINNESOTA HISTORY* for June, 1926, will be interested in a review of "Early Denver History as Told by Contemporary Newspaper Advertisements," by Lawrence W. Marshall, published in the *Colorado Magazine* for September.

The steps by which "The Selkirk Purchase of the Red River Valley" was made by the Scottish nobleman are traced in great detail by John P. Pritchett in an article published in the *Journal of Economic and Business History* for August. He describes the process by which Lord Selkirk "bought his way into the Hudson's Bay Company" and then "proposed to the directors that settlement be undertaken on certain of the charter lands south of Lake

Winnipeg." How he overruled the objections of the directors and met the opposition of the Northwest Company's London agents, who "were of the opinion that Selkirk's project was simply a phase of the Hudson's Bay Company policy to strike a blow at Canadian trade," also is related. Mr. Pritchett asserts that the Red River settlement is the "one notable exception" to the "general practice of fur companies to oppose the establishment of agrarian communities in their midst." The article also has been published as a separate (25 p.).

GENERAL MINNESOTA ITEMS

Sketches of two prominent figures in the history of Minnesota Territory—James M. Goodhue and Willis A. Gorman—appear in volume 7 of the *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1931)⁶, edited by Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone for the American Council of Learned Societies. The account of the career of Minnesota's pioneer editor is by Solon J. Buck; that of the territorial governor is the work of Lester B. Shippee. Of more than ordinary interest also is William A. Taylor's biography of Peter M. Gideon, who developed the Wealthy apple and other hardy varieties of fruit on his Lake Minnetonka farm. Other individuals whose careers are at some point identified with the history of Minnesota and whose lives are sketched in this volume include: John C. Frémont, who accompanied the Nicollet expedition of 1837 into the upper Mississippi Valley, by Allan Nevins; David D. Gaillard, who had charge of harbor improvements at Duluth from 1901 to 1903, by Charles D. Rhodes; William C. Gannett, a Unitarian clergyman who spent some years at St. Paul, by Harris E. Starr; Frederick T. Gates, a Baptist clergyman who was active in Minneapolis in the eighties, also by Mr. Starr; John H. Gear, governor of Iowa, who spent some years of his youth at Fort Snelling, where his father was chaplain, by Earl D. Ross; Paris Gibson, a pioneer Minneapolis miller, by Paul C. Phillips; Mabel Gillespie, social worker and labor leader, by Mary B. Hartt; Father John Gmeiner, a Catholic priest who served for many years at Springfield, by Richard J. Purcell; Lewis A. Grant, a Minneapolis lawyer, by William B. Shaw; Charles H. Grasty, journalist, by James M. Lee; Samuel B. Green, a horticulturist connected

with the University of Minnesota, by Dr. Buck; and Daniel S. Gregory, a Presbyterian clergyman who served at Morgan in the eighties, by Frank H. Vizetelly.

The significance of markers erected in Minneapolis by the Daughters of the American Colonists on the sites of Hennepin's landing at the Falls of St. Anthony and of Cloudman's village at Lake Calhoun is explained in a feature article by H. M. Hitchcock published in the *Minneapolis Tribune* under the somewhat curious title "How Friendly Indian Chiefs Helped Pioneers in Early Days in Minnesota." The author points out that the capture of Hennepin and of his companions by the Sioux in 1680 was not a "hindrance to the purpose of the expedition," but an aid to "its greatest possible success." It is of course true that La Salle's emissaries were not put to death. They were permitted to enter the Sioux country. It may be doubted, however, that they interpreted this privilege in terms of help from "friendly Indian chiefs." Certainly Du Lhut, when he appeared on the scene, did not so interpret the situation.

Some of the mental queries of numerous readers undoubtedly were answered when they read an article dealing with "That Jog in the Border and How It Got There" by Homer C. Brown, in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for August 9. This is a review of the history of the Northwest Angle by a civil engineer who "was for years employed on railroad work that required study of border survey records." Of special interest are the detailed accounts of the later surveys made around the Lake of the Woods during the seventies of the past century and of the marking of the international boundary in that region.

In an article entitled "Statesmen, Soldiers, and Sioux," Ben W. Palmer outlines an automobile trip for members of the Minneapolis Athletic Club in the organization's magazine, the *Gopher-M*, for August. The writer describes sites of historic interest for the motorist who would travel southward from Fort Snelling to Mendota, Cannon Falls, Red Wing, and along the Mississippi to Winona. The suggested return trip to the Twin Cities includes visits to Prairie Island, Hastings, Battle Creek, and the Indian mounds at St. Paul.

The belief among pioneer Minnesotans that the "designation of any town as the county capital would start that particular place on the road to great prosperity" is responsible for "Minnesota's Courthouse Battles," according to Merle Potter, who writes entertainingly, in the magazine section of the *Minneapolis Journal* for August 9, about the "internal dissensions that divided every county into warring factions." Among the frontier struggles for county records and courthouse locations that he describes is that in Le Sueur County, which extended over a period of twenty years and in which the pioneer communities of Le Sueur, Cleveland, Lexington, Union Center, and Le Sueur Center figured. He also presents tales of similar conflicts in Lac qui Parle, Becker, Waseca, Grant, Lincoln, and Traverse counties.

A Minnesota farmer's diary, a woman's journal of a covered-wagon journey in the early seventies, a household account book, an old hotel register, local newspapers, a book of travel, a soldier's diary, and the papers of a settlement company are among the materials described in an article entitled "Collecting Local Minnesota History Material" by Theodore C. Blegen, which appears in the October issue of the *Southern Minnesotan*. Drawing illustrations from materials relating to the economic and social history of southern Minnesota, Dr. Blegen offers numerous suggestions to local historians who have raised the question "What shall we collect?" Other articles in this number deal with the battle of Birch Coulee, a mid-winter trip that Charles E. Flandrau made in the fifties between Traverse des Sioux and Winona on land-office business, the early settlement of Renville County, and the Mower County courthouse fight of 1855.

The issue of *Gwiazda Polarna*, a newspaper printed in the Polish language at Stevens Point, Wisconsin, for September 19 is a special Minnesota number. It includes brief outlines of the history of Minnesota and of St. Paul and biographical sketches of prominent Minnesota Poles.

Some recollections of Mrs. S. S. Ritchie of Minneapolis, a daughter of Gideon H. Pond, the missionary, are woven into an article about the Pond family, by Henrietta W. Kessenich, in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for July 19. The old Pond home at

Bloomington, which is still occupied by the missionary's son, Mr. H. H. Pond, is described, and a picture of it is among the illustrations that accompany the article.

"We must quit this land sale, or we shall spend all our money, and not have enough left to get back to New York. To see as handsome and rich land as there is in the world, selling for a dollar and a quarter an acre, is a pretty strong temptation," writes a Minnesota visitor of 1855 after observing the activities at the land office at Minneapolis. The visitor was the Reverend S. T. Allen, whose enthusiastic comments about the frontier commonwealth are incorporated in letters that he wrote under the pseudonym of "Robert Merry" for *Merry's Museum and Parley's Magazine*. Installments published in the issues for February, April, and May, 1856, are reprinted, with editorial comments by Mamie Meredith, in the *Frontier* (Missoula, Montana) for January, 1931.

How a "Grasshopper Syndicate" organized by General Judson W. Bishop, an officer of the St. Paul and Sioux City Railroad, in 1874 prevented pioneer settlers in southwestern Minnesota from abandoning their homesteads during the plague of locusts is related in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for August 9. General Bishop's own account of the "syndicate" is included in his history of the railroad, which appears in the *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 10: 399-415.

Agricultural fairs and exhibitions held at Fort Snelling, Minneapolis, Red Wing, Rochester, Winona, Owatonna, and finally at the present state fair grounds in St. Paul between the fifties and the eighties of the past century are described in an illustrated feature article published in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for August 30. It opens with an account of the display arranged by Minnesota Territory at the Crystal Palace Exhibition in New York City in 1853, for which William G. LeDuc transported a live buffalo to the metropolis.

"An insight into the reactions of the German immigrant, who while never learning the language of his new country, took it on himself to fight its battles" is revealed by the entries in a little diary kept by August Van Beeck of St. Paul during the Civil War, according to an article in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for

August 16. Van Beeck, who was a member of Company D, Fifth Minnesota Volunteer Infantry, kept a brief record in German of his experiences. The diary is now owned by his widow, Mrs. Elizabeth Swaninger of Minneapolis.

The story of the Sioux War captivity of Mrs. Mary Schwandt Schmidt is retold in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* of August 9 by Katheryn Gorman, who quotes extensively from Mrs. Schmidt's own narrative of her experiences. The latter includes an account of the emigration of Mrs. Schmidt's family in covered wagons from Wisconsin to a claim near Redwood Falls shortly before the outbreak. Portraits of Mrs. Schmidt and of Snana, the Indian woman who befriended her in the Indian camp, are among the illustrations that appear with the article. The Sioux War experiences of another pioneer woman—Mrs. Cecelia Ochs Schilling of New Ulm—are the subject of an article, which appears with her portrait in the July issue of the *Southern Minnesotan*. It recounts the adventures of a girl of nine who escaped from a house near New Ulm that had been fired by the Indians.

The Sioux War, the Sibley expedition, life at St. Cloud after the Civil War, and pioneer experiences in Dakota figure in a volume entitled *Yet She Follows: The Story of Betty Freeman Dearborn*, as related by her granddaughter, Edna LaMoore Waldo (Bismarck, North Dakota, 1931. 227 p.). The writer has used family papers, scrapbooks, newspapers, and other contemporary materials in the preparation of her narrative.

Chapters of a work dealing with the history of the labor movement in Minnesota continue to appear in the *Year Books* of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor (see *ante*, 5:616). The 1931 number contains a chapter dealing with the organization's "Legislative History" since 1911.

A sketch of Dr. Eduard Boeckmann, a "pioneer in scientific medicine and laboratory work" who settled in St. Paul in 1887, is contributed by Dr. Egil Boeckmann to the July issue of *Surgery, Gynecology and Obstetrics*, where it appears as one of a series of articles on "Master Surgeons of America." It has also been reprinted in pamphlet form (3 p.).

One phase of the many-sided career of *Edward W. D. Holway, A Pioneer of the Canadian Alps* is the subject of an attractive little volume by Howard Palmer, a companion of Holway in his mountain-climbing ventures (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1931. 80 p.). From 1904 until his death in 1923 Holway served as assistant professor of botany in the University of Minnesota, where he specialized in the study of plant rusts; before 1904 this versatile man was a successful banker at Decorah, Iowa. It was after his removal to Minneapolis, according to Mr. Palmer, that Holway's "active career of mountain travel and exploration" began.

The first installment of "The Lindberghs: The Family's Own Story," by Lynn and Dora B. Haines, appears in *McCall's* magazine for July. This record, which opens with an account of the immigration from Sweden of August Lindbergh in 1859 and of his settlement at Melrose, Minnesota, is soon to appear in book form.

The work of "Three Generations of N. W. Artists" — members of the Fjelde family — is described by Florence Taaffe in a feature article in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for July 19. Among the illustrations is a picture of a bust of Dr. Folwell by Paul Fjelde.

LOCAL HISTORY ITEMS

Mr. Irving A. Caswell of Anoka is chairman of a committee of the Minnesota Historical Survey which will undertake to "locate the Red River cart trails" and mark them, according to an announcement in the *Minneapolis Journal* for July 26. A description of the traffic that passed over these trails appears in the *Anoka Union* for August 19. The history of one of these trails, now known as the East River Road, which passes through the present site of Anoka, is the subject of an article which is published with a map showing the course of the trail in the Anoka vicinity in the *Union* for July 8. An article dealing with another type of transportation around Anoka, the traffic on the Rum and Mississippi rivers, is contributed by Mr. Caswell to the *Union* for August 12.

The seventy-fifth anniversary of the organization of Sherburne County was the occasion for a three-day "Diamond Jubilee" celebration held at Elk River from July 30 to August 1. Among the speakers were Governor Floyd B. Olson and Mr. Willoughby M. Babcock, curator of the museum of the Minnesota Historical Society. A feature of the celebration was an historical pageant entitled "The Drama of Sherburne County," which was presented each evening during the festivities. Considerable interest was aroused by Indian relics and objects illustrative of pioneer life in the county, which were exhibited in the store windows of Elk River. In a "Diamond Jubilee Edition" of the *Sherburne County Star News*, issued on July 23, appear accounts of the organization of the county in 1856 and its early settlement, of the industrial development of the section, of the political history of the county, of its early churches, of the growth of the local Farm Bureau, and a number of reminiscent sketches of pioneers.

The growth and development of the Wilcox Lumber Company of Detroit Lakes during half a century are described in a booklet issued by the firm to commemorate its fiftieth anniversary (16 p.). It includes brief biographical sketches of the founders of the company, Charles P. Wilcox, Alvin H. Wilcox, and William L. Taylor.

The history of a Welsh community in Blue Earth County and its church, the Horeb Presbyterian Church, is reviewed by B. D. Hughes in the *Lake Crystal Tribune* for July 16. The seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of the church was celebrated on July 2.

A bronze marker erected by the Judson Boy Scouts on the site of the stockade built at Judson during the Sioux War was unveiled on September 26. In connection with the ceremony two representatives of the Blue Earth County Historical Society, Mr. William H. Pay and Judge Thomas Hughes, both of Mankato, presented addresses. Some recollections of pioneers who were quartered within the stockade appear in the *Mankato Daily Free Press* for September 25.

"A Diamond Jubilee," that of the Eagle Roller Mill Company of New Ulm, is commemorated in an article about the history of this pioneer Minnesota Valley milling firm, by Robert T. Beatty, in the *Northwestern Miller* for July 15.

Congressman Paul J. Kvale of Benson was the speaker at a "Golden Jubilee" celebration held at Springfield on August 19 and 20. Exhibits of historical objects were arranged in the store windows of the village during the celebration.

Pioneer life in the Minnesota Valley near Carver is described by P. P. Quist in an article entitled "Recollections of an Immigrant of 1865," in the *Swedish-American Historical Bulletin* for September. The author's comments about the process of adjustment to American living conditions are of special interest.

Indian mounds and sites of historic interest that were marked many years ago with small wooden markers by Dr. James L. Camp of Brainerd and Jacob V. Brower of St. Cloud were visited on August 20 by more than a hundred members of the Crow Wing County Historical Society during the course of a tour from Brainerd to Mission. The tour was under the leadership of Mr. Sam Adair of Brainerd.

The Dodge County Historical Society was organized at a meeting held at Kasson on September 14, when a constitution was adopted and the following officers were elected: Mr. G. H. Slocum of Mantorville, president; Miss Elsie Curtis of Kasson, secretary; Mrs. J. L. Curtis of Mantorville, treasurer; and Mr. Isaac Emerson of Ellington, Mrs. Taylor Wilson of Concord, Mrs. Irvin Hagler of Mantorville, and Mr. Godfrey Andrist of Milton, directors.

In commemoration of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of the city of Blue Earth, a pamphlet was issued bearing the title *Diamond Jubilee Souvenir, Blue Earth, 1856-1931* (90 p.). It includes an extensive history of the community, with accounts of the pioneers who located the town site, of the first hotel, of the "battle that was staged between Blue Earth and

Winnebago as claimants for the county seat," of the early newspapers, of the incorporation as a village in 1857 and as a city in 1899, and of the coming of the railroad in 1879. Special sections are devoted to the schools of Blue Earth, its churches, its clubs and organizations, its library, and its fire department. The anniversary was marked by a three-day celebration, from July 3 to 5, which included the presentation of an historical pageant.

Through the efforts of Mr. Ole Zackrison of Woodenville, Washington, the graves of many of the Swedish pioneers who are buried in the old cemetery at Jamptland, Vasa Township, Goodhue County, have been identified. A tablet bearing their names was unveiled on July 19 in the cemetery, which has not been used for fifty years. Brief sketches of these pioneers, prepared by the Reverend G. W. Sanstead and presented in connection with the unveiling, appear in the *Cannon Falls Beacon* for July 24.

At a meeting of the officers of the Grant County Old Settlers Association at Elbow Lake on July 2, "plans were adopted for a program of activity that should result in the gathering and compilation of the early history and pioneer settlement of Grant County," according to an announcement in the *Grant County Herald* of July 9. In addition to collecting information about pioneer residents of the county, the association plans to assemble objects of historic interest that ultimately can be placed in a museum display.

At a meeting held at Mora on August 3, the Kanabec County Historical Society was organized. A constitution was adopted and the following officers were elected: Mr. C. E. Williams, president; Mr. William W. Tenney, vice president; Mr. J. C. Pope, treasurer; and Miss Mabel Nelson, secretary. The constitution provides for a special membership fee of twenty-five cents a year for high-school students. The county superintendent of schools and the superintendents of all high schools in the county are to be ex-officio members of the society's board of directors.

A parade that "included 75 floats of various descriptions reflecting New Prague's history" marked the opening of that city's

celebration of its seventy-fifth anniversary, which took place on August 29 and 30. An "Anniversary Supplement" issued with the *New Prague Times* for August 27 contains a wealth of material about the history of this Bohemian community. In the opening article a general survey of the early years of New Prague is presented; the arrival of Anton Philipp, a Bavarian immigrant who was the first to settle on the site, is described; and the story of the little group of Bohemian immigrants who followed him is related. St. Wenceslaus Catholic Church, founded soon after the arrival of the first settlers, is described in an article about its history as the "nucleus of the settlement." Historical sketches of Veseli Catholic Church, Friedens Lutheran Church of Lanesburg Township, and St. Patrick's parish in Cedar Lake Township also are presented. The industrial growth of the community is depicted in articles about the development of dairying and local creameries, the New Prague Flouring Mill, the New Prague Foundry Company, and two local banks. The development of the New Prague schools from 1865 to the present, the musical interests of the community, and the history of the *Times* are the subjects of other articles in the supplement.

Packed with information about the early history of Marshall County and its home community is the "50th Anniversary Edition" of the *Warren Sheaf*, issued on July 22. On the cover sheet, the opening page of the first issue of this paper, published on December 1, 1880, is reproduced in facsimile; and numerous early views of Warren appear throughout the number. The history of the *Sheaf*, which for the past forty-five years has been edited by Mr. John P. Mattson, is reviewed at some length; and this pioneer editor is the author of a history of the city that is based upon personal reminiscences. The importance of Warren as a "trading and marketing point" to which farmers came from a "distance of fifty to sixty miles to buy the supplies they required and to sell the products they raised" is emphasized by Charles L. Stevens in a description of "Warren and Vicinity in the Eighties." This interesting narrative of pioneer life, in which agricultural, industrial, social, and political conditions are pic-

tured, has appeared also in pamphlet form (14 p.). A number of additional reminiscent sketches, an account of the progress of the Warren schools since 1880, a description of Warren's ten-year struggle with Argyle to retain the county seat of Marshall County, and sketches of the North Star College, the Warren Hospital, and local churches also appear in the issue. Among the Marshall County communities located in the vicinity of Warren that are the subjects of historical reviews are Fork Township, Argyle, Stephen, New Folden, and Alvarado.

An interesting chapter in the cultural history of Minnesota—the story of the Ladies' Floral Club of Austin, a pioneer women's club organized in 1869—is presented by Florence Taaffe in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for July 12. The women who organized the club, which still exists, had in view two objects—"to institute a study of floriculture and to work for a 'ladies' circulating library."

The eightieth anniversary of the signing of the treaty of Traverse des Sioux was celebrated, in connection with the annual meeting of the Nicollet County Historical Society, at Traverse des Sioux State Park on July 23. Among the speakers who addressed the audience of about a thousand people were State Treasurer Julius Schmahl, Attorney General Henry N. Benson, Judge Thomas Hughes of Mankato, and General William C. Brown of Denver. A replica of the cabin of Louis Provençalle, a trader at old Traverse des Sioux, was dedicated and presented to the state. A detailed account of the treaty negotiations of 1851, by Judge Hughes, appears in the *St. Peter Herald* for August 12.

During a three-day reunion of the Rochester Old School Boys and Girls' Association, from August 9 to 11, some interesting historical exhibits were displayed in the windows of Rochester stores. Among these was one depicting the growth of the Mayo Clinic. At a banquet held on August 11, Mr. Edwin McMillan told of "Rochester's First Schools."

The sixtieth anniversary of the West Zion Lutheran Church, which was organized by a group of Norwegian pioneers of Polk

County in 1871, was celebrated by members of the congregation on July 19. The history of the church is reviewed in the *Starbuck Times* for July 16.

About a hundred and fifty people attended the summer meeting of the Rice County Historical Society, which was held on July 27 at Dundas and which commemorated the seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of that community. The early history of Dundas was outlined by the Reverend W. E. Thompson; the story of the village churches was reviewed by the Reverend Robert Purrington; and some of the pioneer settlers were recalled by Miss Mathilda Hummel. These papers, all of which include material about the Archibald brothers and the mill that they established at Dundas, appear in the *Faribault Daily News* for July 28. A feature article about the history of the village, by Carl L. Weicht, in which the writer calls attention to the anniversary celebration, appears in the *Minneapolis Journal* for August 2.

"In Memory of William McKinley, D.D., Pioneer Methodist Minister who preached his first sermon in Edmund Larkin's log house 2 1/2 miles S.E. of this point, on Sunday, July 29, 1855. His text was Psalms 4:6," reads the inscription on a bronze marker unveiled at Dundas on September 20. The marker is attached to a huge boulder on the grounds of the Dundas Methodist Episcopal Church. Interesting sketches of McKinley appear in the *Cannon Falls Beacon* for September 11 and the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for September 13. The latter sketch is accompanied by his portrait.

The history of the First Baptist Church of Faribault, which celebrated its seventy-fifth anniversary with special services on September 3, is outlined in the *Faribault Daily News* for August 29.

Indian songs, dances, and displays were features of the program presented at a meeting of the St. Louis County Historical Society at Nett Lake on September 12. Among the papers presented were an account of the "Relations between the Bois Fort

Indians and the White People from the Beginning," by A. E. Bickford of Virginia; an outline of the "Indian in American History," by the Reverend F. H. Pequette of Virginia; and a review of the "Bois Fort Indians in History," by William E. Culklin of Duluth.

An interesting project of the St. Louis County Historical Society is the preparation of "date sheets"—brief historical outlines based upon chronology—for various districts in St. Louis County. Such a record for the Vermilion country, covering the years from 1670 to 1931, appears in the *Ely Miner* for August 7. A sheet also has been prepared for the region around Duluth, and plans have been made to issue sheets for the Hibbing and Virginia districts.

Through the generosity of a group of citizens and former residents of Jordan, a log cabin built about 1870 has been removed to a site in the heart of the community and restored as the "Jordan Commercial Club's Memorial to the pioneer settlers of Jordan." The cabin was purchased for the community by the Honorable Charles R. Fowler of Minneapolis; among those who donated funds for its restoration are Mr. C. A. Nachbar of Mankato, Mr. C. H. Casey of Minneapolis, and Mr. Herman Herder of Jordan. The cabin, which is furnished with objects illustrative of pioneer life and has thus become a local historical museum, was opened to the public in September. A sketch of its history, illustrated with a photograph of the cabin, has been printed as a broadside.

The seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of St. Mark's Catholic Church of Shakopee was celebrated with special services on August 11. An illustrated history of the parish, which was prepared by the Reverend Mathias Savs, its pastor, appears in the *Shakopee Argus-Tribune* for July 23 and 30 and August 6.

An Indian war dance of 1861 that culminated in one of the many conflicts between the Sioux and the Chippewa is described by Mrs. Harriet C. Ashley of Superior, Wisconsin, in the *Shakopee*

Argus-Tribune for July 30. Her account is based upon a description in the journal of her father, Miles P. Clarke, who was a merchant at Shakopee in the early sixties.

Something of the early history of the village of Santiago in Sherburne County is presented in the *Princeton Union* for July 16. The community around Santiago, which was originally called St. Francis, was first settled by emigrants from Vermont in 1856.

An interesting chapter in Minnesota Valley history is recalled by the passing of the old bridge built across the Minnesota River at Henderson in 1877, for it was constructed as a drawbridge so that it would not interfere with steamboat traffic. The dedication of a new bridge at this point is the occasion for the publication, in the *Henderson Independent* for July 31, of articles dealing with the history of the old bridge, the industrial life of the city in the seventies, and the development and decline of steamboating on the Minnesota River.

One of the outstanding features of a "Diamond Jubilee" celebration held at St. Cloud from July 16 to 19 was an exhibit of objects of historic interest assembled by a committee under the chairmanship of Mrs. Fred Schilplin. The articles, which were classified under such headings as Indian objects, pioneer articles, manuscripts, military equipment, and objects used by certain racial groups, were displayed at the Elks' Club and in the local store windows. The main exhibit at the Elks' Club attracted so much attention that, contrary to the original plan, it was kept open in the evenings and on the final day of the celebration. A pageant entitled the "Romance of St. Cloud" and reviewing the history of the district was presented at Central Junior High School on the first three evenings of the celebration; and a parade which included many floats of historical interest passed through the streets of St. Cloud on the afternoon of July 18. The publicity given to the celebration by the *St. Cloud Daily Times and Daily Journal-Press* was unusually extensive as well as of an unusually high quality. During the entire week, from July 13 to 18, from two to six pages of the paper were devoted to articles about the

historic past of St. Cloud and its vicinity, in many cases accompanied by excellent illustrations. Among the narratives published are an account of the founding of the city and of its first settlers, sketches of the public and parochial schools of the city, and a history of the First Presbyterian Church and its pioneer pastor, the Reverend E. V. Campbell, July 13; an account of the granite industry in the St. Cloud district from 1868 to the present, and sketches of the city's women's organizations, July 14; histories of the local fire department, the St. Cloud State Teachers College, and the state reformatory, July 15; an account of the once prosperous lumber industry that centered at St. Cloud, July 16; and some reminiscences of William B. Mitchell, and a sketch of Milton P. Noel by his daughter, Mrs. Winthrop S. Mitchell, July 18. Two subjects are treated at considerable length—the history of the city's newspapers, which is reviewed in articles printed on July 13 and 17; and Catholic activity in and around St. Cloud. Articles on the city's earliest Catholic church and on pioneer religious education by the Reverend T. Leo Keaveny appear in the *Times and Journal-Press* for July 13; in the same issue is an account of the early visits to St. Cloud of Father Francis X. Pierz. An article on the Benedictine nuns in Minnesota is published and Dr. August C. Krey's account of the Benedictine order in Minnesota, originally published in this magazine, *ante*, 8: 217–231, is reprinted in the issue for July 15.

The history of the old log house at Brown's Valley, long used by members of the family of Joseph R. Brown and now preserved in Sam Brown State Park, is reviewed by Mr. George Allanson of Wheaton in the *Inter-Lake Tribune* of Brown's Valley for September 4.

One Half Century of the Bank of Long Prairie is reviewed in a souvenir booklet issued by the bank on the occasion of its fiftieth anniversary. Sketches of the history of the bank and of the men who are prominently identified with its progress are included.

How the presence of ginseng kept early Wright County settlers, disheartened by the ravages of the grasshoppers in 1858, from

forsaking their homesteads is related in the *Wright County Journal-Press* for August 13. According to this account, the pioneers gathered the roots and sold them for six cents a pound to Robert Blaine of Virginia, who, it was later discovered, disposed of the product to Chinese agents at sixty cents a pound.

Interviews with interesting Minneapolis residents are reported by Arthur W. Warnock in a series of articles that opens in the *Minneapolis Journal* for August 16. The men interviewed include: the Honorable Samuel R. Van Sant, governor of Minnesota for two terms and a pioneer Mississippi River steamboat captain; Dr. Charles M. Jordan, superintendent of the Minneapolis schools from 1892 to 1914; Judge John D. Smith, a representative in the legislature of 1889, and state senator from 1891 to 1893, and a member of the Hennepin County bench from 1905 to 1913; Monsignor James M. Cleary, one of the oldest priests in Minneapolis; Judge Ell Torrance, who has been practicing law in Minneapolis for fifty years; and Dr. George H. Bridgman, president of Hamline University from 1883 to 1912.

The election of Dorilus Morrison as the "first mayor of the city of Minneapolis" in 1867 and the problems that he faced when he took office are described in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for July 5.

A brief history of the L. S. Donaldson Company of Minneapolis, which celebrated its fiftieth anniversary on August 27, appears in the *Minneapolis Journal* for August 25.

"The Story of Christ Church" of Minneapolis, from 1914 to the present, is reviewed in a pamphlet issued on September 13 under the title *Christ English Lutheran Church Dedication* (32 p.).

The seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of Trinity Lutheran Church of Minneapolis by the Reverend Ferdinand Sievers was commemorated with special services during the week of September 27.

A concise outline of the history of Minnesota's oldest newspaper from 1849 to the present appears in the *St. Paul Pioneer*

Press for September 20 under the title "History of Dispatch and Pioneer Press Closely Linked with Progress of State."

The history of the parks of St. Paul from 1849, when Henry M. Rice and John R. Irvine gave to the city the land for Rice Park, is briefly outlined in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for July 19. Among the pioneer parks noted are Smith, Central, Lafayette, and Como.

Members of the Young Men's Christian Association of St. Paul commemorated the seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of their organization by the presentation of an historical pageant on September 3 and 4. Episodes depicting the explorations of Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike, the negotiation of the Sioux treaty of 1837, the organization of Minnesota Territory, and the arrival of Governor Ramsey were included.

